

MONTHLY REPOSITORY.

NEW SERIES, No. LXI.

JANUARY, 1832.

ON THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY AT THE
CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1831.

THE year which will have completed its course when these remarks shall meet the eye of the reader, will not be lightly passed over by the future historian of our country. Its tale is an eventful one, and will require to be told neither briefly nor coldly. A long time must elapse before the most reflective mind can fully develop the instructions which may be derived from its occurrences; we are too near them for calm and philosophic contemplation; and we are still under the strong influence of that excitement which it must have largely generated in every mind not hardened by selfishness into complete impenetrability. One fact, however, is sufficiently evident, that we are in a state of transition: that old things are passing away and giving place to new; and that society is in the very act, an act ever attended with convulsive throes and conflicting fears and hopes, of assuming a new form,—brighter and happier may it be than all the past! Whichever way we look we behold symptoms of change. The billows are tossing and tumbling, heaving, rolling, and breaking, at every point of the compass. The public mind has outgrown public institutions, which must soon be shattered unless possessed of flexibility to admit of a proportionate expansion. Our forms, laws, establishments, whether for the purposes of education, commerce, politics, or religion, are become so insufficient to represent the intelligence, harmonize with the condition, satisfy the wants, and realize the desires of the community, that they must evidently undergo extensive changes,—gradual and peaceful changes it is to be hoped,—any longer to realize the professed objects of their existence. The work has commenced, we are in the process of renovation; in some departments its rate may be more rapid than in others, but it extends to all. The conflict for reform in the Legislature is but the type and index of a wider, deeper, and mightier conflict between principles which began their struggle for mastery over man in the garden of Eden, and shall continue it till the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God

and of his Christ. That struggle is like the elemental strife of the material world. It is the storm that clears the heavens. It is the process by which Providence conducts mankind to higher and yet higher degrees of knowledge and happiness.

According to the law of progress, both individual and social, by which God governs the world, the transition is made from one gradation of order, harmony, and beauty to a higher gradation, by the intervention of a state of apparent confusion and conflict. In religion, the mind passes from a grosser to a purer form of Christianity through a season of doubt and darkness, of inquiry and discussion; in which opinions, feelings, habits, are all for a while tossed in uncertainty, and not only does thought strive with thought, but emotions and convictions battle together, and habits contend with both. The new creation, like the old, rises out of a chaos, itself the monument of a former but less glorious creation. And so it is in the religious history of mankind. The patriarchal world sunk in the night of Egyptian slavery to reappear in the grander shape of Judaism. In the time of Christ, Judaism was no longer "a building fitly framed together;" the human intellect which had been matured by it, wanted something more and better; and various speculations, some of them anticipating the truth, not yet revealed, of man's immortality, shewed that the period was arrived for the advent of the universal teacher. The scepticism of the Sadducees and the dreams of the Pharisees were alike preparatory to the doctrine of the resurrection. Heathenism presented analogous phenomena. Its mythology and its philosophy, in their various interminglings and conflicts, shewed the "fulness of time" for the promulgation of Christianity. And the same process is evident in civil history. The materials of the Roman Empire were loosened and separated that they might serve to construct the order of feudal Europe. Federal America is a re-arrangement of Colonies, effected by discontent, discussion, and rebellion, which were the transition from a state of order suited to the intelligence and wants of the settlers of the seventeenth century, to that which the progress they had made demanded towards the close of the eighteenth century. With us, the change which is now effecting would probably have been more gradual, quiet, and safe, but for the terror excited by the French Revolution. That event raised a spirit of resistance to all change, however reasonable, however useful, and however inevitable ultimately. The prospect of improvement was exchanged for a state of unnatural stagnation. But the spread of knowledge, and of the wants and desires which grow out of increased and increasing knowledge, could not be arrested; the power which was obstructed continued to accumulate, and the result is, the apprehension of violence, the existence of excitement, and the manifest impossibility of the country being governed but by a Ministry in whom the public can confide as friendly to

reform and improvement. Harmony between the governors and the governed is the best pledge of a safe and speedy issue from the anomalies of our present condition into a state of social order and promise, above what we have hitherto attained, and towards which it is the irresistible tendency of things to direct men's desires and exertions.

The question of reform in the representation of the people could never have arisen into its present interest and importance but in connexion with a strong and general conviction of the necessity of a multitude of other changes which it is expected will be facilitated by the adoption of that measure. The Church cannot remain as it is; its temples have long ceased to be national, in any other respect save that of the taxation by which they are supported. Its faith is not national opinion, nor are its forms national devotion. Independently of the fiscal burden, too heavy to be borne, especially when the clergy as a body are sunk in public estimation, and their chiefs have irritated and insulted the community,—the state of religion requires either comprehension or freedom, and will probably advance to the one through the other. The law cannot remain as it is. Sir R. Peel did much, and Lord Brougham is attempting more; but while professional interests may oppose formidable obstacles to every attempt which is made, public opinion demands more than any man will be found bold enough to propose in an unreformed parliament. Almost every man on whom it has at any time devolved to prosecute a criminal; almost every man who has either had occasion to enforce the payment of a just debt, or to resist an unjust demand, is impatient of the needless delay, complication, and expense of the present system. Education cannot remain as it is. The poor must be educated, though it be at the public expense. The public safety requires it; and selfishness must seek for security in the gratification of the wishes of philanthropy. We are probably not far distant from the time when every parish shall have its school. The Church will not be able to nullify or stultify another Education Bill; nor will the word education continue to designate merely reading and writing for the offspring of poor parents, and Latin and Greek for that of rich ones. Science, history, and morals, the elements of real knowledge, are ceasing to be excluded, and will not remain in the rank of subordinate considerations. The London University would have done something for the best interests of mankind by this time, but for the almost incredible blundering and perversity of its management. The means for disseminating information cannot remain as they are. The taxes on paper, books, newspapers, &c., have been rightly described as taxes on knowledge. They intercept information in its passage to the people; what is still worse, they operate, to a large extent, as a bounty upon pre-

judice. They suppress, or restrict, much of the productions of those who would write to teach, and encourage those who write to sell, creating literary monopolies which minister to any prejudice that happens to be extensive enough amongst the buying class to return good interest upon the outlay of capital. Above all, the relative condition of the working classes cannot remain the same. A different principle in the distribution of wealth must gradually make its way into society, and speedily commence its operation. It cannot be necessary to civilized society, that the producers of its wealth should be kept on the very borders of starvation, and paupers succeed to paupers, world without end. It cannot be necessary that the interests of the lower classes, and of all above them, should be in a state of interminable and bitter hostility. It cannot be necessary that intelligent men should spend their lives in intense thought and exertion, of which only a small fraction tends to the benefit of the community, the rest being directed to successful competition with their rivals in trade or commerce. These evils have made themselves felt through the whole frame of society. The perception of them has generated the science of political economy, and with it a multitude of theories, true or false, all shewing that some change is impending and inevitable, though its precise nature may not yet be so distinctly seen as to be confidently delineated.

Hence it is, from the pressure of these various evils, that all hearts and hopes have been fixed upon that measure which, more than any other, tends to the extinction or mitigation of them all—a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. The introduction of this measure by the Government is the great event of the year. It is an event which, taken with its adjuncts and results, has shed an instructive light upon all the parties concerned.

The Sovereign has been placed in a more trying position than any monarch of these realms since the accession of the House of Hanover. His personal firmness has been severely tested. Hitherto it has stood triumphantly, nor can we now doubt its endurance to the end. His conduct is the more magnanimous as the prepossessions of his station must have been with the opponents of reform; or at most could only have inclined towards some of those partial and colourable plans which would have left the powers of legislation and taxation, as to all practical purposes, in the same hands as heretofore. He has done more for royalty than all the crowned heads of Europe, with all their state, and diplomacy, and armed hosts, could possibly have effected. The man has made the king. The loyalty which had become merely conventional, a point of etiquette, one of the forms and usages of society, has suddenly vivified into a feeling and an affection. The nation does not and ought not to pay

with a niggard hand the debt of gratitude which it owes him for the prospects of a cause which he alone could have assured of speedy success. He has his reward, and long may he such the wreath he has won. No throne can be so firm and glorious as that round which reformers rally.

A Whig Administration is another *rara avis*, a black swan of the year thirty-one. We scarcely yet know how to speak, or what to think, of the present Ministry. Their general policy, foreign and domestic, cannot be fully developed until after the settlement of the Reform question. Their merits have hitherto been estimated chiefly with reference to that single measure. To carry the Bill has been, and properly, regarded as the end and aim of their official existence. And even on that point, the time is not yet come for affixing the final seal to their character and deserts. Whether the course which they have chosen be the best, must be determined by the event. They called for public confidence, and the satisfaction occasioned by the efficiency of the reform which they proposed led the nation to exercise the confidence which they required. With very few and unimportant exceptions, everything has been done which could be done to strengthen their hands; everything abstained from which could embarrass their proceedings. They have courted, and obtained, an awful trust;—they are responsible for the success of the Bill. Nothing less can redeem their pledges to the nation; nor even that, unless it shall appear to be a success so inevitable as that they could reckon upon it from the first, and so complete as to compensate for all the evils of delay, the continued agitation of the country, and the stagnation of trade caused by it; evils which, to all appearance, might have been avoided by prompt recourse to the decisive step of creating new peers at the time of the Coronation. The test may be thought a severe one, but it is their own choice. They have told us that the Bill shall be passed, and we have taken them at their word. Our confidence lasts till it shall be gloriously vindicated, or its abuse can be demonstrated.

It is an indication of the moral sense of the people that this confidence mainly rests on the known personal qualities of Lords Grey and Althorp. Their high honour, pure integrity, and strict principle have been cheerfully accepted as a guarantee for the whole Cabinet. Lord Palmerston and the Grants are regarded as reformers *ex officio*. The Duke of Richmond had only earned the reputation of a well meaning Tory. And Lord Brougham has always rather commanded admiration than attracted confidence. Lord Holland should be added, perhaps; that warm-hearted representative of the warmest-hearted man that ever was condemned to lead a party. But his convictions of the necessity and utility of Parliamentary reform cannot be of very long standing; nor have his pledges (from the nature of

his official situation) been so distinct and prominent, as those of the first named Peers. Yet his name is undoubtedly one of the elements of public reliance and security. Politicians may do well to note how far an honest man's character and word will go. The cleverest tactician has no trick to match them. The whole year has been a continued demonstration, on the part of the people, of prompt, generous, and almost unbounded confidence in two or three individuals of unimpeached integrity.

In this, the last month of the year, that confidence has been rewarded and strengthened by the early assembling of parliament, and the introduction of a bill, *alter et idem*, which varies in nothing that materially affects its efficiency. Speedy and triumphant be its progress!

Another most honourable circumstance to the people is the unanimity which has hitherto been so well preserved. Every attempt to scatter the seeds of dissension has been frustrated. False friends and open enemies have been alike defeated. As soon as it was seen that the ministerial plan would give the Commons of England the preponderance in their own house, though that preponderance may be but a bare majority over the representatives of individuals or privileged classes, from that moment all other schemes were thrown aside, the badges and symbols of party were lowered, and points for which men had been battling all their lives with the zeal of missionaries and martyrs, were quietly postponed and put in abeyance. The good sense and good feeling which have been evinced in this particular are above all praise. Some of the questions thus postponed must emerge from the oblivion into which they have been cast; those, for instance, which relate to voting by ballot, and the duration of parliaments. It is possible that the new arrangements may preclude the confusion, oppression, and immorality which have prevailed so disgustingly in election contests. Unless they do, the subject of secret voting must and ought to come again into discussion. Nor can it be supposed that a reformed parliament will deem the Septennial Act too sacred to be touched. But people generally are well content that the great experiment which has been proposed should be fairly tried; that even such points as these should be withdrawn from the present conflict; and that they should be referred from the season of party strife and heat to that in which the consciousness of power to dispose of them according to the dictates of justice and utility will ensure their calm discussion.

The people have done themselves honour not only by their forbearance but by their activity. The energy and the sacrifices which distinguished the late general election ought not to be uncommemorated; especially following so closely as they did upon the similar exertions of the preceding year. The voters, it should be remembered, are a select and irresponsible body; in some

cases separated at random from the rest of the community ; in many deriving the right of suffrage from circumstances which give them a distinct interest ; and in but a few instances identical with the general body of the people. The return of such a House of Commons as the present is an extraordinary event—it could only happen in a season of strong excitement ; and it implies an influence of public feeling, and an extent of individual sacrifice, of which it would be most unreasonable to expect the repetition. The present members are delegates for the reform of the representative system, appointed for that purpose by an immense effort, which ought to be regarded, in having been made once, as being made for ever.

The opposition to reform is scarcely so much the expression of an opinion as the defence of an interest. Certain advantages, real or imaginary, possessed by certain individuals or classes, are, or are supposed to be, at stake. Hence, inconsistency, vehemence, pertinacity, and continual recourse to the means of delay and annoyance afforded by the forms of debate, have characterized the opposition to this measure. The plain fact is, that there are those who consider themselves as having a vested interest in legislation. They struggle for its retention as any other class in the community would struggle to uphold a monopoly or put down a rivalry. It is their patrimony or their purchase. We cannot wonder at their tenacity ; it is only what we have seen in the silk-manufacturer, the timber-merchant, the ship-owner, the slave-holder, the land-owner, and a hundred others. Society is, unhappily, made up of conflicting interests, of distinct and hostile classes. Yet the certainty of ultimate defeat ought, in common prudence, to prompt a timely and graceful resignation.

Turning, in our survey, from the political to the religious indications of the state of the community afforded by the year which is closing, we cannot but observe that the prospect of ecclesiastical reformation is bound up with that of political reformation. The conduct of the bishops has accelerated that revision of the establishment and correction of abuses which it was intended to postpone. Their votes on the Reform Bill sealed the doom of the tythe system. A more proportionate distribution of ecclesiastical revenues, a reduction of their amount, a better mode of raising them, and a modification, if not the destruction, of the political character of the Church, are evidently at no great distance.

It is not unreasonable to hope that, in the inquisition into the temporal machinery of the Church, inquiry will also arise as to its spiritual and moral efficiency, the evidence of the tenets which it inculcates, and the fitness of the forms which it employs. Its doctrines and devotions will be scrutinized. Whenever that shall happen, a brighter day will dawn of religious truth.

Bigotry and enthusiasm have rendered that contribution towards human good which consists in the disgust excited by the

exhibition of their extreme absurdities. A Bible Society has been just formed, with a Trinitarian test of membership. The attempt to destroy the Catholic constitution of the original Bible Society had been signally defeated at the anniversary meeting of its subscribers. Month after month the returns from the various branch societies had shewn that throughout the country the decision of the parent institution, to uphold the principle on which it was founded, was approved by an immense majority. But the pertinacity of the exclusionists, "unknowing how to yield," seems only to have been the more strongly moved thereby to rear their rival standard. A fitting chairman was found, one who seems expressly fashioned for the purpose, in Mr. Spencer Perceval; and the select body which agrees with him in regarding liberalism as the great diabolical temptation of these evil days, has accordingly organized itself for the purpose of circulating the Book of freedom, peace, and love, in the spirit of intolerance, sectarianism, and animosity. The rickety bantling cannot long survive. Its impotent cries shewed even in its birth the symptoms of impending dissolution. But it may testify to its founders that they know not what spirit they are of, and thus lead them and others to approximate towards that of Him whom they call Master and Lord. Its language may thus be more intelligible than any which the modern gift of tongues has bestowed upon the disciples of Mr. Irving, in the Pentecost of the Caledonian Chapel.

The assumption of the power of miracles, to which allusion has just been made, appears at first sight to be the very climax of absurdity; but it is not, in fact, more unreasonable than that of pretending to decide on men's spiritual condition and eternal prospects by means of their professed faith on such a point as the doctrine of the Trinity. The one ought to imply the other; and those who try the spirits should have evident demonstrations that they possess the Spirit. The error of both classes of pretenders is substantially the same. They take language referring peculiarly to the first age of the Gospel, and apply it to all times and circumstances. If the proposition, "He that believeth shall be saved" is to be taken without limitation, by what authority or on what principle can we limit the proposition which stands by its side, "These signs shall follow them that believe?" If those who appropriate the salvation rest on the letter of Scripture, so do those who claim the "signs." If the latter defy reason and outrage fact, so do the former. If the one class aspire to be the instruments, the other has always arrogated to be the subjects, of supernatural agency and interposition. In both may be traced the existence of self-delusion and the danger of hypocrisy. The one makes what is called religion ridiculous, the other mischievous. The creedmongers have little right to cry down the miracle-mongers. The one species of tare, as well as the other, may

help to illustrate, by contrast, the characteristics of the genuine produce of that seed which the sower scattered abroad in the field of humanity. The gibberish and antics of the Irvingites are but a *reductio ad absurdum* of principles of scriptural interpretation which furnish the main support of popular theology. The trickery is the legitimate growth of the fallacy. If the disgust excited by the pouring forth of unintelligible sounds, as the fulfilment of Christ's promise to his Church; and by the expectation of recovery from sickness in virtue of prayer and imposition of hands, lead men to reconsider their notions of the plenary verbal inspiration, and universal application, of Scripture, Mr. Irving will have occasioned great good. Let the tree be judged by its fruits, hewn down, and cast into the fire.

These effervescences of fanaticism are less depressing in the contemplation than the deeper and more enduring evils which present themselves in the general condition of our country as to religious knowledge, faith, and hope. They are as meteoric light playing round the edges of a thick and heavy cloud of ignorance, error, and corruption. And yet "that darker cloud shall break away." The sudden conversion of multitudes to the simple and pure faith of Unitarian Christianity has not happened, and is not to be expected. The gradual spread of Unitarian principles through society is manifestly going on. The little leaven is leavening the lump. The rationality of doctrine, the fraternity of human feeling, the supremacy of righteousness, which are the spirit and essence of Unitarian Christianity, its peculiarity, worth, and glory,—these are working their way into men's minds, and establishing silently but extensively that kingdom of heaven which "cometh not with observation." And it is a circumstance as rich in promise as in pleasure, that foreigners of almost "every nation under heaven" present themselves at our meetings and hold communion with us. The Hindoo, the American, the Transylvanian, the German, the Belgian, the Frenchman, the Genevese, the Italian, the Spaniard, unite in our worship, receive our greeting, and acknowledge our spiritual brotherhood; we hail the omen, and in the first fruits behold the coming harvest.

The establishment, now in progress, of city missions, for humanizing and Christianizing the poor of large towns, is a symptom of moral life and vigour which will argue well for Unitarianism, if it be energetically followed up. This is the right direction for religious zeal to take. Here its efforts meet the exigencies of society, and coincide with the progress of political reformation. The improvement of the condition and character of the lowest, and most numerous, and most degraded class of society, is alike the work of patriotism and of philanthropy, of political institution and of religious exertion. And if ever it were needful that this object should be distinctly perceived, earnestly contemplated, and powerfully aided, it is at the present moment. With the return of

winter there is a renewal of the conflagrations which last year spread terror through the agricultural districts. By the light of those fires we ought to read the condemnation of that brutalizing system which withholds from the peasantry the food both of body and of mind. The manufacturing poor are better instructed ; and, consequently, their sufferings have, in comparison, been attended with but little wanton destruction. But their knowledge will become a dangerous power, unless more be done to better their condition. The light which "serves only to discover sights of woe," will but excite the sense of oppression and the thirst for retribution. The Bristol riots exhibit the temporary power of a class which permanently exists, and whose existence is most disgraceful to a Christian community. It was the work of beings whose support is plunder and whose happiness is brutal sensuality. Are all our laws, and institutions, and preachings, to end in the creation of such characters from generation to generation ? Is society never to learn the extent of its influences over its children, and the solemnity of its responsibility ? Even now our shortsightedness and prejudices have produced a new crime for which a name was to be derived from its first convicted perpetrator. While exacting of the medical profession an accurate knowledge of the human frame, we have made the means of acquiring that knowledge a punishable offence, and indirectly offered a premium for the murders which have consequently been committed. The Burking of last year might have been prevented by the proposed Anatomical Bill of the year before. And to all these plagues, physical and moral, raging amongst the great mass of the people, there is superadded an indistinct apprehension of the ravages of pestilence, occasioned by the appearance on our coast of the much-dreaded Cholera. Would that there were no greater evil to be dealt with. We have enumerated sufficient indications to every one possessed of the spirit of Christ of "the work which his Father hath given him to do." Fast days will not help. Prayers, like the confessions of murderers, acknowledging fallacious sins and blinking real crimes, and ascribing human calamities to divine vindictiveness, are not the means to be employed. We should be up and doing. Every rational effort should be made to grapple with the evils of ignorance and poverty. For this purpose the associating principle should be called into full operation. Every facility should be given for the diffusion of information. The hostile and bitter feelings which exist in the different classes of society, should be met with the frank kindness which disarms them, and leads to that mutual confidence without which no great good can be effected. The Political Unions are excellent machinery for this purpose, though neglected or opposed by too many of those whose influence might turn them to the best account. So it ever is. The obstacles to works of beneficence are scarcely ever so formidable in those on whom the good

is to be done, as in the doubts, difficulties, and prejudices of those by whom it should be achieved. We rejoice, however, in the conviction, everywhere strengthening and extending, that something must be done, on the largest scale, to instruct and elevate the great mass of the community. It is the harbinger of happy changes. The highest good may be realized by the effort to cure intolerable evil. If we consult the dealings of Providence, and the history of human progress, the fact that the very elements of society are in a state which seems to threaten dissolution will inspire the hope that society is about to be renovated on purer principles, and that in political arrangements, as well as in Christian morals, we may advance towards the realization of the assertion, that "True self-love and social are the same."

DEVOTIONAL THOUGHTS ON THE NEW YEAR.

THE commencement of a new year is one of those periods which few serious men can ever meet, without owning its solemnity, and feeling its influence,—without being "led by the Spirit" of the season, unto the silence and solitude of religious thought—without being, more or less, abstracted from the present, by the retrospects of the past, and the prospects of the future.

In reviewing the course of the year that is gone, we perceive in it another evidence of the faithfulness of our Maker, another proof that "while the earth continueth, seed-time and harvest, summer and winter," shall never cease to "work together for good," to beautify creation and to bless mankind. Such was the promise, which was made, in the olden time, over the ruins of the Deluge, and to which another revolution of our planet has now added a new sanction to those of fifty centuries gone. "The hand of God," still "unseen" as of old, has conducted once more "the beautiful vicissitude,"—the annual work of Nature is again completed, and the annual bounties of Providence have been again dispensed. We look back upon the portion of time, which only now exists in our recollections; we see it numbered with "the days that are past, and with the years that are spent as a tale that is told." That "tale" is indeed "told"—but it has a moral, which ought not to pass away. We have been permitted once more to taste, in succession, the various blessings of every season. We have seen the bright train advancing over the earth, and lavishing their gifts, in rich profusion, upon the hearts and homes of mankind. We have looked with gladness upon the prophetic beauty of Spring, and our hearts have been brightened by the Summer sky; we have enjoyed, in their season, the fruits of the Autumn; we have seen the last departing hues of the year, which discovers, like the Christian,

uneearthly beauty in dying ; and we have gathered once more, into our granaries and our stores, the produce of another harvest, the reward of past exertions and the provision for future wants. Every morning has refitted us for the occupations of life, and every evening has renewed to us the sweets of repose : not a month has gone by, which has not left behind it recollections of enjoyment, and evidences of love ; not a season has crossed our path, which has not sprinkled it with flowers, and filled the winds of time with the fragrance of hope and joy. And now while the rigours of the closing year are around and before us, while the breath of the last of the seasons breathes its chill upon the brow, and the world, so beautiful but a short period since, has consigned, for a time, its beauty to the dust,—we once again look back upon a period, in which many have been struck from the records of mortality,—in which many a head, already white with the snows of time, has been gathered to “the house appointed for all the living” —and in which, still more, the young and the hopeful have been scattered, like the flower-leaves in the breath of the storm, and laid, in *human* language, *prematurely* beneath the cold turf, where their fathers lie. Amid the mortality of a year, which in some of our neighbourhoods has been more than commonly fatal, our lives have been spared, and our fate postponed ; and, while the young and the aged have been falling around us, we have been preserved, by the loving kindness of our God, both from “the pestilence that walketh in darkness,” and from “the arrow that wasteth at noon-day.” Not unto us, O God, not unto us, but unto Thy name be the glory ! Nor is it for our preservation alone that we ought to prostrate our spirits in gratitude and thanksgiving before the Throne of Him who heareth prayer, while we look back upon the period that is gone, and reflect *in what circumstances* we have been permitted yet again to look upon the commencement of another year. It is not life alone, but its blessings, that have been renewed to us :—it is not only for the continuance of existence, but for so much that contributes to make it enjoyed, that we have now to bow down in praise and thankfulness before the Throne of the Giver of all. And if, during the period which is passed, we have experienced, as many must, that this is a frail and changeable world, let us still remember that the *heaviest* evils of life are *not* among the number of those which we have endured. *They* can never have felt the bitterness of adversity who retain their health, their reason, their peace, and their God ; for all other bereavements there is consolation to be found, and for all other losses there are many resources ; and the mercy of Providence is to be praised where *these* blessings are left, whatever else may have been taken away. The briar must be planted before the rose can be gathered, and they who would reap in joy must sometimes be necessitated to sow in tears ; but the rose will be ultimately more prized for the

sake of the thorn by which it was attended, and the joy, when it is reaped, will be rendered more precious for having been purchased at a price so dear. The retrospect of the past year is, therefore, on the whole, a scene replete with incentives to gratitude; and, while we look back upon its various and eventful course,—while we contemplate the many and mournful events by which other lands and homes have been desolated while our own have been spared,—while we trace through the progress of each successive season the mercy which has enabled us to enjoy its blessings,—can we withhold from our Maker the tribute of thankfulness which the bounties of the departed year so justly demand, and for which its voice so eloquently calls? At such a period, and amid such thoughts, can we refuse, can we neglect, to remember our Creator? To let our praise arise like incense, and the lifting up of our hands like the evening sacrifice before the Throne of Omnipotent Love? Oh, rather let the voice of the past awaken us to grateful devotion and to solemn praise! In the house of the God who, in the words of the Psalmist, has crowned another year with His goodness, let the memory of that “goodness” pass before us, and excite within us emotions of sacred love towards Him, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh down, which the children of mortality are privileged to enjoy. The God who has remembered us in the spirit of his mercy—who enables us to assemble in health and peace, and to look back upon the scenes of another of those annual periods, threescore and ten of which are specified by the Psalmist as the average limitation of human life—that God, my brethren, it is our duty to remember, and *that* love it ought to be our happiness to praise. Let then the bounty of the Creator be unforgotten by His creatures,—let the love of our Father in Heaven be requited by His children;—and let the requiem which we breathe over the grave of buried time, be a heartfelt hymn of thanksgiving and praise, to the benign and pitying spirit who inhabiteth eternity.

Such are the sentiments which the past is calculated to awaken in the present. Its lessons, however, are not limited to the present—they have also an important relation to the future. Looking back, as we are, upon another portion of human life departed, the moral which it conveys will be imperfectly developed, if we only learn from it that we ought to be grateful for the various mercies which have distinguished its course. The voice of the buried year delivers, as it were from its grave, prophetic oracles for the guidance of the future; and the period which is opening upon us may be spent more worthily and wisely, if we act upon the instructions of that which is gone. The first lesson which it inculcates is that of *trust in God*. We have seen once more the promise of the Almighty to the infant world made good, and the seasons, in their resplendent order, renewing the covenant which was sealed by the bow of God over the waters of the Deluge.

Three hundred and threescore times has the sun pursued his daily course, and poured the light of day upon every people and every zone. As many times has the night returned to envelop the world in her golden gloom, and to drop the curtain of silence and repose over the unconscious multitudes of a wearied world. Twelve times has the moon renewed her changes from the slender crescent to the full and splendid orb, and smiled, as she did upon the dwellers of Paradise, on the race of Adam reposing in sweet and welcome oblivion. The whole magnificent machinery of nature has proceeded with its usual solemn and beautiful regularity to fulfil the orders of Providence, and to supply the necessities of man. Those mysterious laws which we only perceive in their effects, have continued to operate with the same silent but invincible energy as when they were at first commissioned to act—their vigour has experienced no diminution, nor their action been for a moment suspended. The mechanism of our frames has continued through the seasons of another year to perform its customary, but inscrutable movements,—at every second of the whole long period has the heart performed, without our consciousness, its uninterrupted vibrations, under an invisible impulse—and every part of the complicated system has been filled with vitality, and fitted for enjoyment. Our wants have been supplied as regularly as they have returned,—the blessings of existence have accompanied its continuance,—and every hour of the departed year has been characterized by the same benignant Providence which was developed in the history of the year before it. What truth can be more evident, what moral more clear, than that which these recollections convey? Is it not obvious to every thoughtful man's eye, that the God is to be *trusted*, whom every succeeding year displays anew, as the beneficent Father of all that live; who knows no variableness, nor shadow of turning, amid the mutation of seasons and the flux of years,—who keeps in tune the thousand strings of a harp, which would for ever be silent if but one were gone,—who openeth His hand, as He did in the days of old, and filleth all things living with plenteousness? Can any trust be too deep, any faith too confiding for the Being who is the cause of all these wonders, and the origin of all these mercies—in whom alone *we*, like our fathers before us, live, and move, and have our being—and whose hand maintains, at the same time, and with equal ease, the revolutions of a thousand worlds and the pulses of an infant's heart? And when we look back upon the period which has so recently closed,—and which He has crowned as it passed, with His goodness,—shall we not learn from it the lesson of submitting ourselves more implicitly for the time, that is expanding before us, to the love of our FATHER and the wisdom of our God?

The last instruction which the past year conveys in relation to the future, arises from the consideration of the moral and reli-

gious improvement which we have made of the period now for ever passed away. Is there one who can conscientiously say that he has made the *best* use of the gifts of God; that he has consecrated his time and talents, without any variation, to the pursuit of the noblest ends by the noblest means—that the words of his mouth, and the meditations of his heart, have always been such as are acceptable to heaven—and that he has endeavoured, to the utmost of his capacity, “so to number his days as to apply his heart unto wisdom?” Has he learned to meet prosperity with gratitude, and to fear adversity without repining—to prostrate himself in joy and sorrow alike, before the throne of Him who gives and who takes away—and to look beyond the tides of mortality, to the Heavenly Agency by which they are controlled, and by whose influence alone they can ebb or flow? Has he striven to correct the errors of his heart, and to supply the deficiencies of his character—to invigorate his faith, to exercise his charity, and to establish his hope—to walk in the light of the “Sun of Righteousness,” and to act upon the lessons of “the everlasting Gospel?” If there be *none*, who can conscientiously say that all this he has done—who can fully acquit himself, upon a review of the past, of any misuse of time, talents, or means; let the new year commence under happier auspices—with the deep and deliberate resolve to compensate, as far as possible, for the omissions of the last—and with the humble but fervent prayer, that He before whom all hearts are open, will enable us to carry our resolutions into effect. In the grave of the departed year let the follies and frailties which attended it be interred—and, at the commencement of another, let us impress upon our minds the sweet, yet solemn conviction, that time, well employed, may be the prelude to immortality, and that the path which the pilgrim traverses over the sands of existence, may terminate at length in a paradise beyond the grave, the land of immortal light, of happy life, and of sacred love. Let us act upon the resolutions we have now formed—to resign our doubts, and to correct our errors—to consecrate our thoughts in solitude, and our actions in society, to the will and the worship of our Father and our God—and never more to suffer the time which Heaven in mercy lends us, to be recorded, as unimproved, in the tablets of eternity.

Crediton.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

PART I.—ART. I.

“As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.” Well do we remember the period when these words were to us the most inexplicable puzzle. Riper years have

afforded us a glimpse of the meaning they were intended to bear; they signify that the doctrine of the Trinity is at present the same as it always has been and will be in the Universal Church. In learning that they have a meaning, we have also learnt that they convey a falsehood. To make them true in point of history, a negative must be inserted, "As it was *not* in the beginning." With their prophetic conclusion we will not meddle. Prophetic words require a prophetic spirit, and we have as little of that as he who originally penned them. The words have served to spread and perpetuate a most erroneous notion.

Minerva, we are told, sprang complete from Jupiter's head at one blow of Vulcan's hammer. Similar, in the apprehension of the many, was the birth of the Trinity. Perfect, entire, lacking nothing, it was, they think, brought forth by Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; and complete in all its parts, it has, in their apprehension, been transmitted from age to age, till the present day, suffering no diminution, incurring no augmentation. A most mistaken idea! On the contrary, nothing in the world has been more changeful than the doctrine of the Trinity. In no two ages of the Christian era has it been the same—in no two parts of the Christian world—in the apprehension, scarcely, of any two Christian professors.

The Trinity is composed of parts. Of these, each, for the sake of perspicuity, must be separately spoken of.

For the first three hundred years of the Christian era, the majority of Christians remained faithful to the great truth taught by the Bible and by nature—that the Father of the Universe is supreme. Within that period, it is true, many corruptions were introduced into the Church of Christ. The simplicity of the Gospel was greatly tarnished, the faith of Christians drawn out to a length most alien to the spirit and the teachings of the New Testament. Yet the supremacy of the Father was not lost, till, in the fourth century, Athanasius and his abettors had, by wicked arts, introduced two other Gods, and made belief in them the essential requisite in a Christian's creed.

The teaching of the New Testament, respecting Jesus Christ, is as positive and clear as that respecting the supremacy of the Father. All the statements which it makes respecting him are only versions or amplifications of these words:—"Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God by signs and wonders which God did by him." To this simple confession the Church at large remained attached during nearly the first two centuries of our era. Of this fact we possess the most certain vouchers. Read that confession of faith which, on account of the Apostolical purity of its doctrines, may well be termed the Apostle's creed. In that you see the faith of the primitive Church—in that you see a specimen of the confessions of faith which are to be found even in several of those early Fathers of the Church who

aided the progress of doctrinal corruption. There you find neither the Trinity, nor the deity of the Holy Spirit, nor the deity of the Son. No, this creed, which ascends, in point of time, to the first ages of the Church, sets forth the unity and supremacy of God, and the manhood and divine functions of Jesus Christ. Under the names of Ebionites and Nazarenes was included the whole body of the Jewish converts. This portion of the early Church held their Saviour to be, in the words of Peter, a man approved of God. And let it be observed that this Church was founded by the Apostles themselves, and presided over by men succeeding the Apostles in a direct line. It is also a matter of history, that the early Gentile Church believed in the simple humanity of our Lord. Several of the most eminent Orthodox Fathers admit that the earliest writers of the New Testament did not, any more than Jesus himself, set forth the deity of Christ, for fear of exciting opposition in the minds of those whom they wished to convert. The disclosure, which Matthew, Mark, and Luke prudently avoided, was made, they assert, near the end of the first century, by the Apostle John.

For nearly one hundred years, then, by the admission of the opponent, the Church knew nothing of the now alleged deity of its founder, but was left to the impression respecting his nature which not only the most express declarations of his manhood, but also the whole course of his life and death, was fitted to convey. Most of the writings of the ancient Unitarians, those who deemed themselves orthodox destroyed, in order, if possible, to hinder the world from knowing how late was the origin of their corruptness in doctrine. But enough remains even in their own works to assure us that the doctrine of Christ's humanity was the earliest faith of Christians. This we find the early Unitarians strenuously maintained. Those who opposed them are able to refer to no higher an authority in point of time than Justin Martyr, who flourished in the 2nd century—a plain proof that down to his time the humanity of the Saviour was the prevalent belief. The manner in which they oppose the doctrine of primitive Unitarianism shews that fewness in number, and novelty in doctrine were with themselves, and the contraries with those whose tenets they laboured to supplant. Whenever what is termed orthodoxy has been the prevailing doctrine, its advocates have always been intolerant of Unitarians. In the times of which we now treat, the assumed orthodox spoke with mildness of the Unitarian sentiments, and in the tone of apology of their own. More than this—they have incidentally left passages in their works which establish beyond a doubt the Unitarianism of the great body of Christians during at least two hundred years after the death of Christ. "The many—the greater part of believers were, according to their unwilling testimony, Unitarian

Christians, and as such scandalized, frightened, and terrified at the innovations of the learned few."

The evidence of the Unitarianism of the primitive Church is not confined to a few passages. The general character of the earliest productions of the Christian writers is in favour of the alleged fact. To so great an extent is this remark true, that critics judge of the antiquity of writings by their freedom from language implying or declaring the deity of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity. This rule of criticism is generally received, and the learned, therefore, have, however unintentionally, given their suffrage in favour of the Unitarianism of the early believers.

They have in another way, not the less valuable, because undesigned, afforded evidence of this fact. You can scarcely look into any one who with competent knowledge has written on the early ages of the Church, but you find assertions respecting the simplicity of the faith of the primitive believers, which are tantamount to an admission that their creed had not as yet been extended beyond the essential principles of Unitarianism. The words of Cave may be taken as the representative of their several statements. "The truth is, their creed in the first ages was *short and simple*, their faith lying then (as Erasmus observes), not so much in *nice* and *numerous* articles, as in a good and holy life."

From other writers on the faith of the early Christians we have an admission extorted by the vexation that they felt. From an early period of the Christian era down to modern days, those have existed who complained of the poverty and defects which, with their sentiments, they thought characterized the creed of the primitive believers. No language can better express the feelings which such complaints are fitted to excite than that which Lardner used on recording some of the murmurs to which we have alluded. Lardner—than whom no one has existed better acquainted with primitive Christianity, and whom, if the clearness of the case did not supersede the necessity of the patronage of great names, we should place at the head of a list of worthies, sharing with us the assured conviction that Unitarianism was the faith of the earliest and best followers of Christ—"Poor ignorant primitive Christians!" he observes, "I wonder how they could find the way to heaven! They lived near the times of Christ and his Apostles. They highly valued and diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and some wrote commentaries upon them; but yet it seems they knew little or nothing of their religion; though they embraced and professed it with the manifest hazard of all earthly good things—and many of them laid down their lives rather than renounce it. Truly we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy; but I wish that we did more excel in those virtues which they and the Scriptures recommend as the distinguishing properties of a Christian. And

I am not a little apprehensive that many things which now make a fair show among us, and in which we mightily pride ourselves, will in the end prove weeds only on which the owner of the ground sets no value."

If, then, Jesus, was at first accounted not God but a man approved of God, how has it happened that he had assigned to him the prerogatives of deity. The distance between God and man is so great, that he who was really man could never, some may imagine, have been transmuted into God. Strange, indeed, we grant it is, that the creature should have been placed on an equality with the Creator. The surprise of the reader will, however, decrease, if not vanish, after he has attended to the following considerations.

We must not judge of the change of which we have spoken by a reference to our own feelings, but to the state of the public mind at the time of the promulgation of Christianity. Was it not strange that the children of Israel, immediately after the reception of the law against idolatry—a law sanctioned by the most stupendous miracles—should require Aaron to make them a brazen calf for an object of their worship? Was it not stranger still that Aaron, the brother of Moses, who had seen all the wonders done in Egypt and in the desert, should yield to their request? But in the doctrine of transubstantiation we have something more surprising than in any other corruption on the page of history. It ceases to be a wonder that a man should be made God, since a piece of bread is held by myriads to have undergone a similar conversion through the lapse of near two thousand years, and in thousands of places at the same moment. The deification of the intelligent spirit of one of that race who in the Scripture are invited to become partakers of the divine nature, and declared to be created in the image of God, is surely a less marvel than the deification in times and places innumerable of what possesses not even animal life, and is taken into the human frame and converted into a part of its nutriment and substance.

But the Gentiles, by whose influence the corruptions respecting the person of Jesus were introduced into the Church, held notions of the Deity low and mean as compared with those which we of these times entertain. They had Gods many, and Lords many—Gods of like passions with themselves. In many instances their deities were inferior to those who are now accounted but ordinary men. The power of these Gods was restricted, their jurisdiction local, their character lustful, cruel, and gross. How childish must have been the notion which they entertained of God who contended, as did some of the philosophical theists of the pagan world, that the sun and stars, yes, and this earth too, were severally Gods! The distance which actually exists between the Creator and the creature the heathen reduced till it almost dis-

appeared. They brought the Gods down almost to earth. What wonder then they raised a man to Heaven, especially, since man in the creed of the many was descended from the Gods—being their workmanship—possessing a soul the same in substance with them; nay, was begotten “after the flesh,” as was held to be the case with some mortals, by the intercourse of deities with the sons and daughters of earth? The idea of deification, then, presented no difficulty to the mind of a Pagan; on the contrary, he was most familiar with it. All the great benefactors of man the Pagans had deified. Deification, in consequence, became in the mind of a Pagan the appropriate reward of any one who was remarkable for his beneficence. It would be difficult, therefore, for a Pagan to avoid ascribing divine honours to the Saviour of the world. Even Tiberius the Roman Emperor, not a convert to the Christian faith, proposed, on hearing of the deeds of Jesus, to the Roman Senate that he should be added to the number of the Gods of Rome. Such at least is the statement of Tertullian and other ecclesiastical writers, the truth of which Lardner is inclined to admit. But whether the proposal took place or not, the currency of the story serves to shew the feelings which a Roman was likely to entertain on hearing of the gracious deeds of the Saviour of mankind. A religious impostor in the person of Alexander we know was deified. That a religious benefactor should receive a similar distinction is surely then no matter of surprise. Peregrinus, another knave, and Neryllinus, an obscure mortal, had statues erected to them at Troas and Parium, to which divine honours were paid. Epiphanes, the son of the heretic Carpocrates, and a heretic as well as his father, was deified about the middle of the second century. We hardly need subjoin to these instances the well known fact, that the Romans, borrowing the practice from the Asiatic Greeks, were accustomed to deify and adore their emperors either before or after their decease, though they might be the vilest of mankind. Even the subordinate magistrates of the Roman Empire were very frequently adored as provincial deities, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices. Nor was this transference of the honour of God to his creature man limited to the heathen world. Before the middle of the second century, as we learn from Justin Martyr, the worship of angels had begun. In the Apostolical constitutions, as they are called, a work exhibiting under a false name a true picture of Christian antiquity, Moses and the Apostles are termed Divine, and the Christian bishops Gods. Scarcely were the disciples of Christ themselves, in the homage which they rendered to the emperors of Rome, inferior to the unenlightened heathen. The ceremonies of deification were laid aside, but the titles of God were still lavished on mortals, and the tongues of Christians could style a fellow-creature your Divinity—your Godship—your Eternity. Nor did the Christian Church, as soon as she had power to follow her own inclinations,

fail, by deifying men to imitate in Rome her heathen predecessors. She carried on a trade in the manufacturing of a kind of secondary Gods, termed Saints, much to her own aggrandizement and the people's degradation.

While deity was thus easily conferred on mortals, strange would it have been had the Saviour of the world escaped the supposed honour. The heathen when they heard of his mighty acts would naturally suppose him the son of some God, and enter the Christian Church with the impression that if he did not enjoy he certainly merited the distinction of divinity. At all events the deification of a man, and a man approved of God, presented to their minds no insuperable difficulty. They were familiar with the idea; to make Gods had been before their eyes almost as common as to make knights in these days, and whatever, therefore, were the teachings of the Scripture, they would easily be led by the influence of men of learning and station to transmute in their apprehensions the man Christ Jesus into a Divinity. Those who could term an Apostle Divine—and a Bishop God—and hear, without revolting, an Emperor styled Eternal, might well give the name and honours of Deity to one confessed on all hands to be inconceivably superior to them all.

There is in human nature a strong propensity to raise above the common level those who have signalized themselves by deeds of beneficence. Gratitude, when excited, is a feeling which rather ranges with the imagination than abides the control of reason. The idea of a benefactor is magnified by the intensity of our emotions. We take a sacred pleasure in enriching our conception of him with many an excellence, which has, perhaps, no other source than our imagination, and we finish this illusory but pleasant fiction by ascribing to the benefactor himself what has an existence no where save in our own minds. The process in the case of men of rare excellence is continued from age to age, till he who originally was but a man rises into the rank of a Saint, perhaps of a God. After the lapse of a few centuries, he is no longer seen in the just proportions of his own character, but through the magnifying mists which succeeding years have accumulated on the horizon of the past. Actuated by this principle, all nations, especially in their earlier stages, have made men into heroes, and heroes into Gods. And still, in these days, when the empire of reason has been founded on the ruins of that of the imagination, we invest with a hundred imaginary virtues him whom we have reason to esteem either for his moral qualities or his beneficent deeds. The words of our Lord are daily receiving illustration in the feelings with which we entertain the memory of the great and good—"Whosoever hath to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance." With what facility do the bulk of the people at least make an idol of him whom they have reason to respect! In spiritual concerns especially, how easily have the

chief functionaries become Gods upon earth ! how readily have the people transferred the sacredness which belongs to religion to those by whom its solemnities were observed !

An instance of the undue esteem, which, even in the second century, Christians were wont to feel towards superior men of their own community, is found in some facts connected with that excellent martyr Polycarp. So excessive, as we learn from Eusebius, was the reverence of the Christians towards him, that he was obliged constantly to keep his body covered in order to prevent them from touching his skin, as they eagerly strove to do ! How anxious, too, were his flock to procure his dead body after his martyrdom, that they might deposit it in a place of resort common to them all, and make it a bond of religious amity. The Greeks, and especially the Jews, endeavoured to frustrate their design, under the alleged fear that the Christians might desert Him that was crucified, and worship Polycarp. Notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies, the believers succeeded, however, in "gathering up his bones, more highly to be prized than precious gems, and more refined than the purest gold ;" those they buried, and where they laid them there they assembled every year, in order to celebrate the anniversary of Polycarp's death. Men, then, do not degrade but extol their benefactors. The process of corruption is not to bring down the great to their own level, but to raise them above the sphere of humanity. We thus can easily understand how it happened that the man Christ Jesus came to be worshipped as a component part of the Godhead. Such an elevation is in the natural course of things. Well might we have wondered if nothing of this nature had taken place. Strenuous must have been the exertions of any who could have stayed the progress of corruption. And where were the persons supposed to acquire principles such as to induce them to oppose the propensity of their contemporaries ? Being men they would have like passions with their fellows—would feel the same gratitude to their Saviour—experience the same prompting to extol his character, and to amplify his merits—and be, alike with others, delighted in encouraging those feelings of complacency, which, when duly regulated, are the appropriate tribute to the memory of Christ—but which unchecked and misdirected lead the mind to ascribe to his person the dignity that properly belongs to his character. Nor is it easy to see how persons with such sentiments of the nature of Christ as those of the Ebionites could have existed, as it is beyond a doubt they did exist in the earliest age of the Church, had Jesus been revealed to man as God incarnate. What an overpowering sense of awe and gratitude would each convert have experienced on learning the astounding fact ! How was it possible for any one, made a partaker of the blessings brought by God himself to earth,—how was it possible for any one, to undeify his Saviour and degrade him to a man ? No person could have

acted thus—or human nature then was not the same as human nature now; yet this, if we admit the Trinitarian hypothesis, thousands must have done—have done, while yet the splendours of the risen God were lingering on the horizon—while those to whom he had revealed his glory, and those who had heard thereof from the eye-witnesses of it, were yet on earth. Impossible! Such a thing could never have taken place—the feelings of every man are revolted at the supposition. The hypothesis, then, which leads to so absurd a conclusion must be false. Christ was not revealed as God. On the contrary, following the index of history, believing under its direction that the Church at first was Unitarian, we easily perceive how, from the principles of our nature, the conversion of Jesus into God took place.

A PARABLE.

IN a solitary place among the groves, a child wandered whithersoever he would.

He believed himself alone, and wist not that one watched him from the thicket, and that the eye of his parent was on him continually: neither did he mark whose hand had opened a way for him thus far.

All things that he saw were new to him; therefore he feared nothing.

He cast himself down in the long grass, and as he lay he sang till his voice of joy rang through the woods.

When he nestled among the flowers, a serpent arose from the midst of them: and when the child saw how its burnished coat glittered in the sun like the rainbow, he stretched forth his hand to take it to his bosom.

Then the voice of his parent cried from the thicket "Beware!"

And the child sprang up, and gazed above and around to know whence the voice came; but when he saw not, he presently remembered it no more.

He watched how a butterfly burst from its shell, and flitted faster than he could pursue, and soon rose far above his reach.

When he gazed and could trace its flight no more, his father put forth his hand and pointed where the butterfly ascended, even into the clouds.

But the child saw not the sign.

A fountain gushed forth amidst the shadows of the trees, and its waters flowed into a deep and quiet pool.

The child kneeled on the brink, and looking in, he saw his own bright face, and it smiled upon him.

As he stooped yet nearer to meet it, a voice once more said "Beware!"

The child started back; but he saw that a gust ruffled the

waters, and he said within himself, "It was but the voice of the breeze."

And when the broken sunbeams glanced on the moving waves, he laughed, and dipped his foot, that the waters might again be ruffled: and the coolness was pleasant to him.

The voice was now louder, but he regarded it not, as the winds bore it away.

At length he saw somewhat glittering in the depths of the pool; and he plunged in to reach it.

As he sank, he cried aloud for help.

Ere the waters had closed over him, his father's hand was stretched out to save him.

And while he yet shivered with chillness and fear, his parent said unto him,

"Mine eye was upon thee, and thou didst not heed; neither hast thou beheld my sign, nor hearkened to my voice. If thou hadst thought on me, I had not been hidden."

Then the child cast himself on his father's bosom and said,—

"Be nigh unto me still; and mine eyes shall wait on thee, and mine ears shall be open unto thy voice for evermore."

ON THE DUTY OF STUDYING POLITICAL ECONOMY*.

"IN England and Scotland," says Dr. Cooper (p. 21), "no well-informed gentleman is permitted to be ignorant of the labours of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo, any more than of Shakspeare, Milton, or Pope." Alas! Dr. Cooper thinks too well of us, as he would find, if he would come over and walk about London for one day. If he went to the Exchange, he would hear hopes and fears about the exchange being in favour of, or against our country. If he went among the merchants' counting-houses, he would find petitions in favour of monopoly in course of signature. If he went to the West End, he would see tokens of an expenditure, liberal enough, but of a kind hurtful to the general interest. He would see beggars in the streets levying their toll on passengers, and advertisements of charities would meet his eye in every direction. He would find farmers praying for restrictions on the importation of grain, and shopkeepers mysteriously bringing out their smuggled goods, and beadles getting two paupers married to rid their parish of the charge of the bride; and members of Parliament in the club-houses advocating petitions in favour of a fixed rate of wages. He would hear of riots in the manufacturing districts on account of the introduction of new machinery, and of rick-burning in the

* Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy by Thomas Cooper, M.D., President of S. Carolina College, and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy.—London, Hunter, 1831.

agricultural, where some capitalist was enclosing waste land. He could not sit in an inn an hour, or walk the length of a street, without perceiving that our gentlemen know nothing, generally speaking, of political economy. The few who do understand it are gentlemen, we admit. It is but too evident that the middling and lower classes are ignorant of it yet; but the few who are not, would form an almost indistinguishable portion of the nation, if their number were the measure of their importance. Their talents and philanthropy have brought notice and abuse upon them at home, and honour abroad; their talents and philanthropy alone, for they have no adventitious help. They are not in our ministry; they are not in our senate; they are not, with two or three exceptions, in our universities or public schools. The press alone is open to them; and that they have obtained for our nation such a reputation as the American Professor innocently assigns us, is a proof which it is exhilarating to receive of the greatness and stability of the power they have won in opposition to the blind prejudices of the people and the haughty irrationality of the aristocracy. Dr. Cooper refers to some of the principles of the administration of Lord Liverpool, Canning, and Huskisson, in proof of the advance of the science in this country. It is true that we owe a change for the better to these statesmen, but it would amuse any one who did not think the matter too serious for a laugh, to observe how obscure, and imperfect, and feeble, is the recognition of grand principles of policy among those who are looked upon as our most adventurous statesmen. They are all bit-by-bit reformers, when any departments of this science are in question. They all flounder among the details when the direct road to principles is open; and let the question relate to what it may,—to Indian affairs, or poor-laws for Ireland, or the corn-laws, or colonial monopolies, or any other politico-economical point, the time of the house and the patience of clear-sighted men are invariably wasted by frivolous discussions on irrelevant subjects, or on difficulties which ought to have been laid to rest long ago. We cannot think that this would be the case in a debate on Macbeth, or Windsor Forest, though it possibly might on a question of the liberty of unlicensed printing. Many popular representatives prefer shooting and billiards to studying Ricardo, as much as Charles Fox preferred tending his geraniums to reading Adam Smith.

We hold, however, that the blame does not chiefly rest with these gentlemen themselves. We wish they represented their constituents as faithfully in all things as in their ignorance of political economy. If they did, the cry for reform would be very gentle, and would come from a different quarter. It is true that the representatives of the people ought to be able to point out to their constituents the origin and nature of whatever evils they know only in their effects. This is the only way of making repre-

sentation as enlightened and effectual as it might be, and, as it seems to us, of keeping the conscience of the representative clear, and the harmony between him and his constituents unbroken. Suppose, for instance, trade in some manufacturing district is at a stand from a dispute about wages. Masters and men desire their representative to advocate a fixed rate of wages. If he does so, he commits an egregious blunder; if he declines without having a good reason to give, he offends his constituents. He ought to be able to explain to them the absurdity of their request, to point out the real cause of their troubles, and to state what he can attempt for its removal. But this is more, it seems, than has hitherto been expected of the representatives of the people, who have tardily and imperfectly learned from the irresistible evidence of events, those truths at which the intelligent among their people had arrived long before by a shorter cut. Thus it has been and thus it is; and since it is so, the people must begin by informing themselves, if they wish for a better state of things. It is evident that they cannot even be sure of choosing their representatives better till they are clear as to what is requisite in their member, and can judge whether he possesses the requisites. The people then must become practically acquainted with the principles of political economy, before they can expect to have their interests properly taken care of by the government.

Nor is this less necessary, supposing the ruling portion of the commonwealth as well-informed respecting its duties as it ought to be. The execution of their measures depends upon the people, and enlightened co-operation is essential to their success. There would be little use in the removal of restrictions if voluntary monopolies still subsisted. If the abuses of the pauper system were abolished, and the wisest of all possible measures substituted, its operation would be impaired if the public persisted in giving alms and maintaining soup charities, and clothing charities, and other well-meant institutions which do nothing but harm. We do not mean that such a broad difference between government and people could long subsist while the government was in the right; but in proportion to the errors of the people would sound public measures fail of their effect; and in proportion to the cordial co-operation of the people would be their efficacy. Whether, then, the government be wise or foolish, ignorant or informed, it concerns the people to understand their own interests,—*i. e.* to learn political economy.

Viewing this science as we do,—as involving the laws of social duty and social happiness,—we hold it as a positive obligation on every member of society who studies and reflects at all, to inform himself of its leading principles. If he cares at all about the faithful discharge of his functions in the position he holds, he must feel himself obliged to learn what those functions are, and how they may be best discharged. He would not place himself

at a lawyer's desk, or a merchant's counter, or mount a pulpit, or dispose of his services in any way without learning what was expected of him, or preparing himself to fulfil his contract. He would not pocket his salary, and accept any advantages that his position afforded him, while he trusted to haphazard or to daily routine to teach him what he must do or how he must do it. No honest man would thus engage himself, even if he were born to his office and were subject to no controlling power. Neither will an honest man accept the benefits of the social contract without learning how to fulfil his share of it. It is not enough for a member of society, any more than for a merchant's clerk, to be upright and industrious, and amiable, and generally intelligent. More is wanted in both. They must be skilful as well as laborious, and their skill must be appropriate to their office. The clerk must have studied the principles and mastered the details of his trade, or he does not deserve his salary; and the member of society must have informed himself how he may best serve the community before he can fairly appropriate the benefits of living in a community. His general intelligence is not enough if it does not guard him against particular errors in the discharge of his function; *i. e.*, a merchant's good education will not nullify his support of a monopoly. His uprightness is not enough if it does not preserve him from unconsciously encouraging fraud in others; *i. e.*, a representative's honest zeal will not justify an ill-grounded party measure. His benevolence is not enough if it operates to increase misery; *i. e.*, a kind-hearted man's almsgiving will not make the growth of pauperism a good thing. Thus every honest man who writes himself a member of society must understand political economy. He who is philanthropic as well as honest lies under a double obligation, inasmuch as he knows it to be in his power to help to drive those above him and to lead those below him to a similar recognition of the duty common to them all.

It is not till we see how deeply the laws of social duty and social happiness are involved in this science that we become aware how important it ought to be in the eyes of the philanthropist. We are not among those who mix up moral questions with political economy, as if they were not only connected but identical. We do not speak of demand and supply and heavenly-mindedness in the same breath, or bring exchangeable value into immediate connexion with filial piety; but we think that this study partakes much more of the nature of a moral than a mathematical science, and are quite certain that it modifies, or ought to modify, our moral philosophy more extensively than any other influence whatsoever. Political economy treats of the sources and acquisition of wealth, of its distribution and consumption,—including under the term wealth whatever material objects conduce to the support, comfort, and enjoyment of man. There is no question that a great proportion of national crime is generated by

poverty : all the theft and much of the licentiousness of which society has to complain is produced by want or by the recklessness which attends a state of want. There is no question that the frauds and all the demoralizing methods of circumvention frequent in the commercial world are occasioned by institutions which make one man's gain another man's loss, and foster a spirit of jealousy and selfishness :—institutions equally bad as they regard morals and social economy. There is no question that idleness and imposition are encouraged by all methods which interfere with the free course of industry, or which, by affording a premium on over-population, cause the supply of labour to exceed the demand. There is no question that many and obstinate wars have been occasioned by the faulty framing of commercial treaties, and by commercial jealousies and national competitions,—all which are inconsistent with sound principles of political economy. We might extend our exemplification much further ; but it is needless. It is as true of a nation as of a family that its individual members will be less exposed to temptation, and more enlightened to perceive, and more at liberty to discharge its duties in a state of ease than of poverty ; and that its most favourable circumstances are those where there is harmony between the various members at home and goodwill towards their neighbours abroad,—a harmony and goodwill secured by an union of interests and a reciprocity of good offices. Is it not the duty of all philanthropic persons to act upon this truth,—to ascertain the leading principles on which the national interests are based, and according to which they must be secured ? If our philanthropists would but do this,—if they would but aim at rectifying principles instead of ameliorating the consequences of such as are bad, how speedily would the worst of our social evils disappear ! It grieves us to the heart to see how charity is misunderstood,—what labour and pains are spent with the best intentions for nothing or worse than nothing, while the same exertions rightly directed would benefit thousands. Hundreds, every winter, give money, and time, and pains to supply the poor of our towns with bread and soup. The business is inadequately done, at the best ; and the moral effect upon the poor of that sort of charity is so bad as probably to counterbalance the present advantage. If half the pains had been taken to procure a repeal of the corn-laws, directly, by urging the measure on government, and indirectly, by enlightening the public mind on the policy of such a proceeding, the poor of Great Britain might, by this time, have been well fed without having lost their spirit of independence, and would moreover have the prospect of being well fed as long as they could work. In hard winters there have been committees in almost every town near the coast to furnish the poor with coals, at a similar expense of moral evil, trouble and cash. A very few individuals who, last year, urged and carried the repeal of the tax on sea-borne coal, did more towards warming the population—

without any counterbalancing evil—than all the gentlemen with open purses and all the ladies in drab bonnets who benevolently busied themselves from year to year. Nor was fuel the only good procured. Bread and clothes and independence came in the same colliers, though nothing was charged for their freight. Manufactures which could not before be set up on account of the expense of fuel, were established as soon as the obstacle was removed. A new market was opened to the industry of the people, and they earned their comforts instead of having to beg for them. In such cases as these, one individual, issuing a sound opinion through the press or in Parliament, may do more good than a score of charity committees with a score of members in each. Why do not more aspire after this truly effectual benevolence?

Another and yet more important consideration to the good man is, that the application of moral principles varies with the social condition of man. Doubtless we shall find, when we reach a better state of knowledge, that these principles are immutable; but we cannot use them in an abstract form. We know of none which have admitted of precisely the same application from the beginning of the world to this time. Modes of action which are good in one age or position of circumstances, are bad in another, while the principle remains the same. If we attempt to frame moral systems, we must make them for present use only. We must provide for their being modified as the condition of society changes, or we shall do more harm than good. A moral system which is good for a child is unfit for a man. A moral system which is suitable to an infant colony, is perfectly inapplicable to an ancient empire. The regulations of a commercial must be different from those of an agricultural country. No man, therefore, can either teach or practise morals well, however sound in his general principles, unless he knows the circumstances in which his principles are to be applied. A clergyman may preach well on justice, and may have the most earnest desire to practise and encourage this virtue; but he more than undoes his own labour, if he persuades his people to countenance the interference of Government in the employment of private capital; *i. e.*, to petition for penalties on any particular mode of investment. He may thus be injuring the interests of thousands, while he advocates the principles of justice. In like manner, if his week-day labours are directed to the encouragement of almsgiving, instead of better modes of expenditure, he does more for the increase of pauperism, wretchedness, and crime, than a whole year's preaching on benevolence can counteract. If he were a political economist, he would not preach the less fervently, but he would accompany his enforcement of these principles with illustrations of their best application in the present state of society. He would be eloquent on the right of man to employ

what he possesses as he pleases ; and would show how, as every man knows his own interest best, and as the interest of the public is that of congregated individuals, the part of justice and benevolence is to interfere with none in the direction of their own concerns. He would show that the principle of benevolence varies in its application according to the position of events ; and that almsgiving, however appropriate an act of benevolence in so peculiar a polity as that of the Jews, is not a virtuous deed at present, if it can be proved to create more misery than it relieves ; and such proof he would afford. These explanations, out of the pulpit, would add force to his Sunday eloquence, instead of nullifying it.

No words can describe the evil of proceeding on a false principle, or of erring in the application of a right one, in concerns so momentous as those of society ; and there is, therefore, no limiting the responsibilities of all its members for the mode in which they employ their influence. This responsibility cannot be evaded, for every individual has influence ; the obligation to learn how to employ this influence cannot, therefore, be evaded. To show what individuals may do of good or harm, we will adduce one case.

Mr. Sadler, a man who, by some means or other, has acquired a degree of influence to which his qualifications do not entitle him, and which cannot be long maintained, finds that there was once a divine command to "increase and multiply, and replenish the earth." This command was as appropriate as possible when issued ; viz., when a family stepped out of the Ark into a depopulated world, where food might be had, next season, for the gathering, and where the deficiency was of human beings, and not of produce. Mr. Sadler chooses to apply this command to our country at the present time, where food is scarce in proportion to the population, and there is not employment enough to enable the poor to surmount the restrictions which deprive them of foreign grain. If Mr. Sadler can effect the removal of these restrictions, or if he can transport the supposed subjects of the command to lands which want replenishing, his principle may hold good ; but he is bound to do these things *before* he advocates a now untenable principle. If his advice, as it now stands, be followed, he may have the questionable honour of having added to our population some thousands, born in wretchedness, reared in vice, and expiring the victims of want or crime. Compare with the deeds of Mr. Sadler those of Arkwright ; he is computed to have added a million to the permanent population of Great Britain. But how ? By providing the employment which was to support them. Arkwright, by furnishing the support of a *permanent* million, calls them into a life which may be honest, useful, and enjoyable. Sadler, by encouraging an increase of some thousands previously to providing the means of

support, calls them into a life which is not only guilty and wretched to themselves, but injurious to others, by consuming the resources which were already too small. Such a case needs no comment. It shows us something of our responsibilities, and throws some light on the dispute whether an increase of population is or is not a good, and thus affords us a lesson as to the mode of using our influence.

Enough has been said, (though we seem but to have bordered upon the subject,) to prove the *utility* of the study of political economy. Much, very much, might also be said of its *beauty*. Yes, its beauty; for notwithstanding all that is said of its dryness and dulness, and its concentration in matter of fact, we see great attractiveness and much elegance in it. We might reason at some length upon the kindred arguments, that there is ever beauty in utility, and that there is no beauty which is not involved in matter of fact. But for such we have no space. We will only ask if there is no beauty in those discoveries by which the resources of nature are laid open, or in those processes by which her workings are overruled, to the benefit of man? Is there no beauty in the simple and compound adaptation of means to ends, or in the creative processes of the human intellect, whose results are embodied by the ingenuity of the human hands? Is there no beauty in the principle of equalization which may be traced in workings more extensive, and with a finer alternation of uniformity and variety than in any region of research with which we are yet acquainted? Does it not gratify the taste, as well as the understanding, to discern how deficiency is supplied, how superabundance subsides, how influences reciprocate, by the natural workings of the principles of social polity? Is there no pleasure in marking the approach of Plenty to sow her blessings round the cottage of the labourer, and of civilization to adorn the abode of the artizan? Is there not gratification for the finer faculties in tracing the advancement of a state from its infancy of wants and occupations to a period of prosperity, and thence through all its complications of interests, till the intricate organization works with all the regularity which distinguishes the processes of nature, while it is instinct with life, and (if left free from empiricism) would expand into a majestic growth of lasting grandeur? Is there no pleasure in finding in present events a key to the past; in unravelling the mysteries of policy and morals which perplexed the legislators and philosophers of former ages? Above all, is there no beauty in the dealings of providence with man? Can it be a dry and irksome task, to explore the plan by which communities are wrought upon to achieve the great ends of human virtue and human enjoyment? Social institutions are the grand instruments in the hands of Providence for the government of man; and no labours can be more worthy of the disciple of Providence than that of

deducing the will of God from the course of events—of ascertaining the Divine signature by which institutions are sanctioned or prohibited.

Whatever beauty there is in mathematical science, it is embodied here; for the relations of number and quantity, remaining immutable, exhibit a new series of results. Whatever beauty there is in mechanical science resides in this also; for no powers are so mighty, and nowhere are they so variously combined as in the mechanism of society. Whatever beauty there is in chemical science, is present here also; for there is a strong analogy between the mutual action of natural and moral elements. Whatever beauty there is in moral science appears pre-eminently here; for hence we draw our inductions, and construct our theories, and here or nowhere we must try the principles in which both result. Hither the finger of God directs us when we inquire for an oracle to expound to us the state, and prophecy the futurity of the race which He has destined to be lords of the earth as a preparation for becoming citizens of a better state.

If there be any who think natural indications of the Divine will insufficient, and who look into the Bible for a sanction for their studies as well as for other things, we beg to refer them not only to the implied principles of political economy which abound from the first peopling of the earth up to the apostolic institutions,—but to as full and clear an exemplification as can be found in Adam Smith. Dr. Cooper points out that in the parable of the ten talents,—inexplicable to all who do not understand the principle on which it proceeds,—the great truth is illustrated, that capital hoarded and buried, instead of being applied productively, does not yield its result of good. It is true, this is only one application of the general law of increase which was adduced for a moral purpose by him who spoke the parable: but it is good political economy, and they who wish it may plead a gospel sanction for its pursuit.

Our author, who is not only the first professor of this science in his college, but the proposer of such a professorship, has done good service to the cause we have been advocating by the zeal with which he enforces the advantages of its pursuit. He vigorously and perseveringly exhorts his countrymen to study political economy, and urges our example upon them, by which, as we have seen, he does us too much honour. The lectures before us are what they pretend to be, elementary, and we doubt not have done all the more good for keeping clear of the abstruser parts of the science. They comprehend as much as it is reasonable to expect the bulk of students to learn,—as much as would regenerate our country if fully understood by our statesmen, and pressed upon them by the people. Dr. Cooper's style is strong and lively,—a great advantage where this class of subjects is in question. He pins his faith to no man's sleeve, but takes and

leaves opinions as his judgment directs after an extensive survey of the works which have issued from various schools. He goes a great way with Adam Smith, of course; a great way with Say, Ricardo, Malthus, and Mill; combining their leading opinions into a system with which we have only trivial faults to find. Our great objection is to his deficiencies of arrangement. We cannot, indeed, discover any principle of arrangement; and cannot but wonder that, much as he admires Mill, he should not have followed his, which appears to us the natural, and therefore palpably fit mode of evolving the principles of the science; namely, by classing them under the heads production, distribution, and consumption,—interposing exchange if it should be thought desirable to treat separately of this method of distribution.

We must gratify ourselves by giving one extract, in which is implied a valuable sanction of our preceding arguments.

‘Much difficulty and deplorable mistake has arisen on the subject of political economy from the propensity that has prevailed of considering a nation as some existing intelligent being, distinct from the individuals who compose it, and possessing properties belonging to no individual who is a member of it. We seem to think that national morality is a different thing from individual morality, and dependent upon principles quite dissimilar; and that maxims of *political economy* have nothing in common with *private economy*. Hence the moral entity—the grammatical being called a NATION, has been clothed in attributes that have no real existence except in the imagination of those who metamorphose a word into a thing, and convert a mere grammatical contrivance into an existing and intelligent being. It is of great importance that we should be aware of this mistake: that we should consider abstract terms as names, invented to avoid limitation, description, and periphrasis—grammatical contrivances and no more: just as we use the signs and letters of algebra to reason with, instead of the more complex numbers they represent.

‘I suspect it will be very difficult for us to discover a rule of morality, obligatory on individuals, that would not apply to nations considered as individuals; or any maxim of political economy that would not be equally undeniable as a rule of private and domestic economy; and *vice versa*. The more effectually we can discard mystery from this and every other subject, the more intelligible it will become; and the less easy will it be for designing men of any description to prey upon the credulity of mankind. It is high time that the language and the dictates of common sense, founded upon propositions easy to be understood and easy to be proved, should take place of the jargon by which our understandings have been so long cheated.

‘Those maxims of human conduct that are best calculated to promote a man’s highest and most permanent happiness on the whole of his existence, are the only maxims of conduct obligatory on individuals. There is no other rational basis of moral obligation; for what can be put in competition with the greatest sum of happiness upon the whole of a man’s existence? There are no rules of morality—there is no such thing as virtue or vice, but what originated from our connexion with other creatures whose happiness may, in some degree, be affected

by our conduct. What rules of morality can affect a man condemned to pass his days alone on an uninhabited island, or in solitary confinement within the walls of a prison? In like manner, those rules of conduct which are best calculated to promote the mutual happiness of nations, in their intercourse with each other as individuals, constitute the only maxims of the law of nations obligatory on all, because calculated for the permanent benefit of all. So, in the domestic concerns of a nation, those rules and maxims of conduct which, upon the whole, are best calculated to promote the permanent happiness of any nation, that is of the individuals who compose it, in the capacity of members of a political community, are the laws really obligatory upon that nation; and the force of the nation is properly exerted to carry them into effect when enacted, against any individual who may contravene them: always taking for granted that those laws are enacted, not for the benefit of rulers, but with a view to promote *the greatest good of the greatest number* of citizens composing the community. This, then, is the true origin of moral obligation, whether applied to national aggregates of individuals, or to any individual of the number. For what stronger or higher obligation can be suggested than to pursue and practise systematically those rules of conduct which can most effectually and permanently secure our own happiness upon the whole? What higher or different motive can we have? It will be found, on examination, that the particular rules and maxims, comprehended in this general expression of them, are the same, whether applied to the conduct of one individual or ten,—of ten, or ten thousand, or ten millions.—pp. 28—30.

HERDER'S THOUGHTS ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HISTORY OF MANKIND*.

ART. I.

Entweder ist all unser Studium der Geschichte, Statistik und Philosophie nichts; oder es giebt eine Wissenschaft der nächsten und einer fernern Zukunft, so weit sie uns angeht. Herder, *Vom Wissen und Ahnen*.

Either all our study of history, statistics, and philosophy is nothing; or we may obtain of the proximate and a remoter futurity as much knowledge as concerns us.—

Of Knowledge and Presentiment.

Le meilleur moyen d'aller en avant, c'est de regarder la route, qu'on vient de faire.—*De la Littérature Française, pendant le dix-huitième Siècle*, p. 109.

WE may be thought a little out of date in calling the attention of our readers to a work, the first part of which appeared as early as the year 1784. But as it is not much known to the mere English reader, (whether any translation of it has appeared in this country we cannot say,) as the views which it exhibits possess a permanent value and interest, and have exercised an influence, which may be visibly traced in the tendency which historical and philosophical inquiries have recently assumed in France, we deem no further apology neces-

* Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. Herder's Sämmtliche Werke. Zur Philosophie und Geschichte. Dritter Theil.—Carlsruhe, 1820.

sary for occupying some portion of our pages with an examination of its contents, and for pointing out the application of the various important considerations which it suggests to the present aspects of society. We are even inclined to believe, that the remoteness of the date of this work may in some respects be an advantage. Before the first French revolution, enlightened men throughout Europe were beginning to investigate the elementary principles of society with a freedom and a boldness, which were checked by the excesses of that awful crisis. Herder himself was a member of an extensive association in Germany for promoting the moral and social improvement of his country*, the fruits of which were cut off and scattered to the winds, soon after its formation, by the violence of the storms which raged through the whole political atmosphere of Europe. Before that time, studious and speculative men, following principles into their consequences, condensed the essence of truth in brief and comprehensive maxims, which had been abstracted from an extensive survey of human affairs; subsequently the experience of practical difficulties, the apprehended risk of all sweeping changes, and the almost insuperable refractoriness of established institutions have led even good men to circumscribe their application of a general principle with so many limitations, that sometimes—and that too in writings and speeches avowedly liberal in their object—we are almost puzzled to discover the recognition of anything like a general principle at all. Under these circumstances we conceive there may be some benefit in tracing the speculations of an enlightened and benevolent author on the noblest of all themes—the history of the human species—conceived, and given to the world, before the disastrous events which darkened the close of the eighteenth century had checked the freest range of inquiry, and deadened, under a sense of present danger and inexpediency, a full and clear perception of the ultimate axioms of moral and political truth.

There never was an individual better fitted than Herder to sketch out a general scheme of the philosophy of human history. More than this, perhaps, we cannot say, because the present work, with all its excellences, must be admitted to be slight and sketchy in its execution, being frequently little more than an indication of what is needed to elucidate successfully the progress and development of society. But it abounds in noble thoughts, in pregnant suggestions, and in general views, which will prove exceedingly useful to those who are desirous of examining more in detail particular periods of history. The extent of the plan, and the variety of considerations which it embraces, presuppose in the writer such a range of general knowledge as is hardly compatible with the possession of great

* See account of the *Life and Writings of Herder*, in a former Number of the *Monthly Repository* for 1830.

depth and exactness of attainment in any one department of human learning. But Herder, though he had not the profound erudition of a Heyne and a Niebuhr, or the accurate science of a Humboldt and a Blumenbach, possessed, nevertheless, those qualities of mind, which enabled him to turn to the best account the researches of others—to catch the most prominent features of his subject, and to group skilfully together those great general facts which distinguish the history of the human species. His ardent genius was ill-suited to the minute investigation and toilsome accumulations of an original inquirer, but eagerly appropriated the copious materials laid up in the vast repositories of learning, and sought to introduce light and order and harmony into the wide chaos of warring facts and conflicting opinions, which they exhibited. To the strongest religious convictions and an exquisite sense of the good and beautiful, he added a power, which was almost peculiar to himself, of seizing the spirit of a particular literature and of a particular state of society, and could, therefore, warmly sympathise with what was estimable in humanity, under its most diversified aspects. A reverence for man, as man—and a benevolent solicitude to promote whatever can improve his condition and exalt his nature, is the predominant feeling which pervades his whole work. Consecrated by an association with these views, the simplest effusions of human sentiment, and the rudest memorials of manners and character—possessed for him the deepest interest. He thought with Bacon that a ballad or a legend often more faithfully indicated the current of popular feeling, and were better worth studying by the historian of mankind, than the graver productions which are less impregnated with the spirit of the age, and in which the cold, technical exercise of the intellect has repressed the free and natural outpourings of the heart. He had traversed the most varied and distant fields of literature; and from the pine-forests of Scandinavia, amid the vast plains of Tartary, in the wilds of Madagascar,—and even on those neglected wastes which skirt the east of Europe, on the confines of the Teutonic and Slavonic races, had culled the sweetest wild flowers of popular poesy. He has collected these gathered treasures in his delightful volume, ‘The Voices of Nations in their Songs *;’ which may be regarded almost in the light of a *pièce justificative* of the principles developed in the graver work now before us.

‘Early in life,’ he says, † in the preface to this latter work, ‘the thought often occurred to me, since everything in this world has its science and its philosophy, should not that, too, which most nearly concerns us—the history of mankind—also have, in a large and general sense, its science and its philosophy? Every pursuit reminded me of the suggestion; metaphysics and morals, physics and natural history, but, above all—religion. Could it be, I thought, that the

* Stimmen der Völker in Liedern. Werke, Band xxiv.

† Vorrede, p. 10—15.

God, who has ordered everything in nature according to measure, weight, and number, who, according to these principles, has regulated the essence of things, their form and connexion, their course and subsistence, so that from the vast fabric of the universe to the smallest particle of dust; from the power, which holds earths and suns together, to the most delicate fibre of the spider's web, there is only one governing spirit of wisdom, goodness, and power; who, moreover, in the structure of the human soul and body, has so wonderfully planned all things, that, when we venture even from afar to trace the purposes of the All-wise, we are lost in the abyss of his thoughts, that such a Being, in the general destination and ordering of our race, should deviate from his course of wisdom and goodness, and act here without a plan? From my youth these thoughts possessed me, and every new work, which appeared on the history of mankind, and in which I looked for contributions to the development of my favourite idea, was to me a discovered treasure. I rejoiced to perceive that this species of philosophical inquiry was latterly coming more into vogue, and availed myself of every assistance which circumstances offered. My book will, however, shew that in the present state of our knowledge, no complete system of the philosophy of history can be written; it may be, perhaps, at the close of a hundred or a thousand years.'

With that excursive flight of imagination, which was peculiar to him, Herder deduces his philosophy, as he himself expresses it, from heaven, and occupies the two or three first chapters of his work with some speculations on the relative position of our earth in the solar system, on the agencies of the atmosphere by which it is encompassed, and on the revolutions which it has probably undergone, before it became the dwelling-place of man. As it is the moral wisdom rather than the physiology of Herder, that we are desirous of recommending to the notice of our readers, and as most of these topics have since his time been discussed with superior science and more extended observation, we shall not pursue him through this part of his work.

After noticing the direction of the principal mountain-chains, as the skeleton or frame work on which the continental masses of the Old and New Worlds have been formed, he thus points out the subserviency of physical geography to correct views of the progress of society, and shows how closely natural and civil history are connected.

'Nature has laid down, as it were, the rough but fixed ground-plan of the whole of human history, and of its revolutions, in the direction which she has given to the mountain ranges, and to the streams, which she has poured down their sides. How nations here and there broke through their original limits and discovered broader lands—How they advanced along the course of streams, and in fruitful spots built huts, villages, and towns—How they entrenched themselves, in a manner, between mountains and deserts, with perhaps a river in the midst, and then called the region, which nature and habitude had thus insulated for them, their own—How, in such places, varying according to the character of the country, different modes of life, and, finally, states sprung up, till at last, mankind reached the ocean, and were compelled

by the barrenness of its shores to seek their subsistence from its waters: all this belongs as much to the gradually-advancing history of the human species as to the physical history of the earth. It was one elevation, which produced nations of hunters, and kept them necessarily in a savage state; another, more extended and of milder climate, which opened a field for Nomad tribes, and induced them to domesticate the useful animals; another, which rendered agriculture both easy and necessary; another still, which introduced a sea-faring life, and so, finally, led to commerce; distinct epochs and positions these in the history of mankind, which necessarily resulted from the diversity and vicissitude brought by nature into the structure of our globe. In many regions, consequently, the manners and modes of life have continued the same for thousands of years; in others, chiefly from external causes, they have undergone a change, but a change always bearing a certain proportion to the land, whence it came, as also to that in which it happened and on which it operated. Seas, mountain-chains, and rivers are the most natural boundaries, not only of lands, but also of nations, of modes of life, of languages, and of kingdoms; even in the greatest revolutions of human affairs, these have ever formed the great landmarks and boundary-lines of the history of the world. Had the mountains run in another direction, the rivers pursued a different course, and the ocean been skirted by other shores, how inconceivably different would have been our disposal in this vast arena of nations! *

The following suggestion is worthy of notice, and curious, as having been practically applied, since Herder's time, by Humboldt †. We may observe, in regard to it, that the connexion of physical geography with history has not even yet been sufficiently attended to in our manuals of instruction; and, indeed, generally, all those branches of knowledge which are related to the history of our species have been cultivated too much apart as separate and independent studies, instead of being made to throw light on each other, and thus to furnish important results, which, but for such approximation and comparison, would never have been suspected. Our German neighbours have laudably set the example of cultivating history in this enlarged and comprehensive spirit. But to return to Herder's suggestion—

'It would be delightful (says he) to have a mountain-chart or rather atlas, in which these pillars of the earth should be surveyed and marked out, under the manifold points of view, in which the history of the human race requires them to be considered. In many places the arrangement and height of the mountains is determined with sufficient accuracy; in others, the elevation of the land above the level of the sea, the nature of the soil on its surface, the fall of the streams, the direction of the winds, the variations of the needle, and the degrees of heat and warmth, have been observed; and some of these circumstances have already been noted down in particular charts. If more of these observations, which now lie scattered in separate treatises and books of travels, could be accurately collected and embodied in charts, what a

* First Book, vi., pp. 36-7.

† See John von Müller's Note on the passage, p. 48.

delightful and instructive survey would the historian both of nature and of mankind be able to take, at a single view, of the physical geography of the earth! But we are only in the commencement of such studies. Scientific inquirers in different quarters of the globe have accumulated materials for the rich harvest of results, which probably some day or other the Peruvian mountains (perhaps the most interesting region of the world for the higher departments of natural history) will reduce to unity and certainty*.

After noticing the analogies of structure and organization pervading the vegetable and animal kingdoms, which exhibit one predominant purpose of nourishment and propagation, varied according to the peculiar exigencies of the case, Herder adopts this general view of the physiology of man, that 'he constitutes the central point of animated nature, the consummate form, in which are united, as in a refined abstract or epitome, the features of all the tribes around him†.'

The development and illustration of this general idea occupies all his third book. In the fourth he shows, that the whole of human organization is calculated with a view to the exercise of reason, and points out the peculiarities of structure, which must for ever exclude the animals that most nearly resemble man, from attaining to its functions. We have already noticed that much of the value of Herder's book consists of its hints and suggestions: his remarks on the brain will justify this observation. Having stated that no sure results, as to the measure of intelligence, can be obtained from comparing together the mass of the brain in different animals, and that the elephant, the most intelligent of brutes, has a small brain in proportion to its general bulk, he applies another criterion in order to determine the ground of the intellectual superiority of the human species; and this criterion he thinks may be found, not in the absolute mass of the brain, but in its more delicate elaboration in the proportion and position of its parts towards each other, and in the exquisite adaptation of the sensory to collect with the greatest exactness—and most energetically to combine into thought—the widest extent and variety of outward impressions. Hence the importance of the erect attitude of man, and of the position of the head, which is the seat of the principal senses, in relation to the other parts of his frame‡.

'It were much to be wished,' he adds, 'that anatomists—especially in the examination of animals that resemble the human species—would pay particular attention to this internal relation of the parts of the brain, according to their position towards each other, and according to the direction of the head in its general organization to the whole body: here, I conceive, lies the difference of organization adapted to this or to that instinct—to the functions of the soul of a brute, or of the intel-

* First Book, vii., pp. 47, 48.

† Second Book, iv., p. 76.

‡ Fourth Book, ii., p. 140.

lect of a man ; since every being forms a living whole of parts harmoniously co-operating to one end *.

This general statement is thus illustrated in the case of the ape.

‘ What constitutes the organic difference between our head and that of the ape ?—the angle at which the head is inflected from the trunk. The ape has all the parts of the brain which man possesses, but he has them, in accordance with the structure of his skull, in a depressed position ; and this is so, because his head is fixed at a different angle, and he is not formed to go upright. As an immediate consequence, all his organic powers are differently developed : his head is neither so high, so broad, nor so long as ours ; the inferior senses are thrust forward with the lower side of the countenance, and it becomes the countenance of a brute, just as his depressed brain always continues only the brain of a brute : though the ape has all the parts of a human brain, yet he has them in another position and under a different relation †.’

We have thus far dipped into the physiology of Herder, which may not, perhaps, at the present day, be considered very profound, or probably in all its details very exact, in order to exhibit a specimen of his mode of treating such subjects, and also to observe, that from passages similar to those which have been just quoted, the celebrated Dr. Gall has been supposed by some to have taken the hint of his system of craniology

Our limits will not allow, nor perhaps would the patience of our reads endure, a full and particular analysis of the multifarious contents of this work. We must be content, therefore, with tracing its general plan as we proceed, and with exhibiting and dwelling upon only those passages which possess, either from their eloquence or from the importance of the thoughts which they contain, a more than ordinary claim to notice. There is no idea which Herder repels with more indignation and disgust than that of identifying the human species with the inferior tribes of animals ; he omits no opportunity of showing how distinct and firm is the line of demarcation between men and brutes. It will not surprise us, therefore, to find his varied and discursive speculations on the physical organization of man terminating in the noble conclusion, that the end of his being is the cultivation of religion and morality ; that he is born for freedom and immortality. Upon these topics, as also on the influence of the domestic affections in refining and elevating human nature, there are some beautiful passages towards the close of the fourth book which we would fain quote, did not abundance of interesting matter lie before us, to which we must hasten on. We may observe, in passing, that Herder declines entering into any metaphysical proofs of the immortality of the soul, drawn from the supposed spirituality and simplicity of its nature ; and rejecting, as unfounded and inconclusive, Bonnet’s well-known theory of pre-ordained germs, judiciously postpones the consideration of this

* Fourth Book, ii., p. 150.

† Ibid., p. 149.

deeply interesting question till a more extended view of his subject shall have enabled him to rest its solution on the collected analogies of nature.

In the arrangement of the universe may be discerned an ascending scale of forms and powers: every power in nature has its organ; the organ, however, is distinct from the power, which only acts through its instrumentality. Every combination of powers known to us indicates progress and tendency to something higher. Man's nature exhibits a system of spiritual powers, operating through the medium of appointed organs, and terminating the visible climax of creation. Hence the present condition of humanity may be considered as a preparation for something yet to come; the connecting link of two worlds, the last stage of the animal and the first of the spiritual world; and hence only can be solved the apparent contradictions of man's character and condition. 'This view,' says Herder, 'which rests on the universal laws of nature, furnishes us with the only solution of the wonderful phenomena of man, and consequently with the only clue to the genuine philosophy of his history*.'

Speaking of our ceaseless tendency onwards, and of our inability to picture to our imaginations the scenes which are yet to be revealed, he thus beautifully and feelingly illustrates his meaning:

'Enough for us that all the transmutations which we notice in the lower kingdoms of nature are progressions to something more perfect, and that we have thus an intimation at least of scenes, into which, for higher reasons, we are here incapable of looking. The flower unfolds itself to the eye as a sprout, then as a bud; the bud becomes a blossom; and now first from the blossom shoots forth the perfect flower, which commences its existence in the order described. Similar developments and changes occur in many other parts of creation, amongst which the butterfly furnishes a well known emblem. See! there crawls the unsightly caterpillar, obeying the gross instinct of subsistence. Its hour arrives; the faintness of death seizes it; and, as in a winding-sheet, it wraps itself in the web which nature has already provided. Now its external organization stirs into a new life. Long and wearily at first goes on the transmutation—it seems to be destruction. Ten feet still adhere to the rejected skin, and the new being is as yet unformed in its limbs. Gradually these fashion and arrange themselves; but the being awakes not till it is all there. Now it bursts forth into light, and in an instant the last development takes place. A few minutes more, and the soft pinions spread themselves into five times the magnitude they possessed under the integuments of death, endued with an elastic spring, and radiant with all the hues which only the presence of the sun can bestow; expanded and ample to sustain the new-created being on the gentle undulations of the zephyr. Its whole structure is metamorphosed: no longer feeding on the coarse nourishment of leaves, it sips the nectar-dew from the golden chalice of

* Fifth Book, vi., p. 237.

flowers; and, instead of crawling along the ground to satisfy the cravings of a gross appetite, it is now guided in its volatile course by the finest impulses of love. Who would have anticipated a butterfly from the form of a caterpillar? Who would have recognized in both, one and the same being, had not experience proved it to us? And both forms of life are only different periods of one and the same existence on one and the same earth; where the organic circle commences anew a corresponding course. What new forms, then, of beautiful development must be slumbering in the bosom of nature, where her circle of organic life spreads wider, and the periods which she successively evolves embrace more than one world! Hope then, O man! and prophesy not: the prize is before thee; labour to secure it. Cast from thee what is unworthy of thy nature; aspire after truth, goodness, and heavenly beauty; so canst thou not miss thine immortal aim*.

THE VISIBLE AND THE INVISIBLE.

[This paper is not a literal translation, but rather a near imitation of some beautiful thoughts by the Reverend S. Vincent, Pastor of the Protestant Church of Nismes, which were published in the periodical entitled 'Religion et Christianisme,' edited by Mr. V., in conjunction with his co-pastor M. Fontanès. In many of M. Vincent's papers we are struck with a turn of thought and a style much resembling those of Dr. Channing. The character of the periodical, also, bears a very near resemblance to the American 'Christian Examiner;' it has the same didactic and clerical appearance; two leading articles, generally pretty long ones, comprise in themselves the chief interest of each number, but these are noble pieces of writing. It does one's heart good to find in our neighbour-land, in *that* land which, in a religious point of view, many are perhaps too apt to hold in contempt, such fervent, rational, earnest piety. The spirit of this periodical is really beyond all praise; its tone is gentle, humble, firm; it is full of well-considered and well-arranged truths.

* Fifth Book, v., pp. 234-5. The butterfly, in this relation, has been a favourite common-place with poets and sentimental prose writers. We are reminded of Herder in the following beautiful lines from, perhaps, the most finished and graceful of all the effusions of the late Mr. Roscoe's muse.

Unconscious of a mother's care,
 No infant wretchedness she knew;
 But as she felt the vernal air,
 At once to full perfection grew.
 Her slender form, ethereal, light,
 Her velvet-textured wings enfold,
 With all the rainbow's colours bright,
 And dropt with spots of burnish'd gold.
 And balanced oft her 'broidered wings,
 Through fields of air prepared to sail;
 Then on her venturous journey springs,
 And floats along the rising gale.

The Birth of the Butterfly.

It is alike free from formality, and from that disregard to early associations, which deals out unmeasured invectives against outward observances.]

‘Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed.’—John xx. 29.

THESE words are and always must be true of the fact respecting which they were first spoken. We that now believe, and they who are to come after us, must, while we are here, walk by faith and not by sight; but, leaving the immediate question of Christianity for awhile, it is worth reflecting how vast a proportion of our noblest things is invisible. When we bring them before us, they seem so far to outweigh all we have seen or can see, that we may as emphatically say of them as did our Saviour of his own uprising from the dead, ‘Blessed are they who have *not* seen, and yet have believed.’

We need reminding of this certain and remarkable truth, that all our best things are objects of faith, rather than of sight. It is the character of our age to be proud of its spirit of investigation, and to submit all it can, and more than it ought, to the cognizance of the senses. We need, occasionally, to ask the question of ourselves, what is the extent of the field which physical experience and the investigations of the senses, can of themselves open before us? By our senses we perceive colours, and forms, and some of their properties—their hardness and softness, their cold or heat, moisture or dryness, smells or tastes; we experience the pleasant or the disagreeable sensations they impart; our own wants we perceive, our pleasures and our pains; beyond this we ‘have not seen.’

We assist our sensations by the power of induction; immediately the field is widened—detached phenomena are arranged in their right order, more properties of objects are made known, and the laws of nature are in part revealed. We learn to anticipate, in some degree to dispose, events—we distinguish—we increase our pleasures, and lessen our pains. The outward world, and the station in that world appointed for us to occupy, become familiar to us; by analogy we learn the most certain of all facts—that death will one day level us, as it levels all beside, with the dust.

And *this* is the range of things ‘visible;’ and even here we have included much which is underived from sense—much to which sense alone could never guide us. There are the ideas of space and time, and cause and effect; who has ever beheld, or will behold them? Yet they interpret the elements, and classify the phenomena of nature; through them our senses speak intelligibly, and experience gives her lessons. How far are we now from having arrived at the end of our endowments? Might we not almost say that everything is to come? All that dignifies and ennobles human nature, all that makes us men, is

indeed yet unspoken. And first there is THOUGHT, and all its various laws. Are *they*, though invisible, less certain than things visible? No, they gain as implicit an assent as any facts which our eyes can behold, or our fingers handle. The absurd in idea is as much an object of ridicule as the imperfect or erroneous in vision or in action. We believe in our own minds, we believe in the succession of ideas in the minds of others, but we neither have seen nor can see them. They are revealed by language, but they have no resemblance, as far as we can tell, to any earthly thing of which our senses take cognizance: yet we believe. Take that wonderful conception, the belief, the consciousness—call it what you will—of the Infinite. It surrounds whatever fields of experience we have traversed, it is the gulph in which at last all our other conceptions are swallowed up. We add it to space, in order to form the idea of immensity—we transfer it to duration, to frame the thought of eternity—we add it to power, and intelligence, and goodness, and so make up the idea of a god. Have we beheld it?—have we received it through the medium of the eye, or held it in the hollow of our hands? Yet there it is, in the mind; the most central, deep, ineradicable of ideas. The learned may try to banish it from the province of the sciences: in vain; it was there before science had begun her work, it will be there when she has finished; not even the first elements of geometry can supersede it, for the object of geometry is space, and space, too, is infinite.

And the Beautiful—that everflowing spring of pure delights and lofty sentiments; can our idea of *that* be explained by the senses? We see it in nature: we frame the conception of it for ourselves: but it is not in colour, it is not in forms, nor sounds, nor words: but rather in the connexion of all these things with a hidden spring of thought and feeling. The Beautiful is an invisible privilege of the spirit still more than a quality in surrounding objects.

And the emotions of Love—the devotion, the self-subjugation, the spirit of unhesitating sacrifice, the readiness to give up even life itself—whence do they spring? There is no impurity there: on the contrary, wherever they act, their purifying influence is felt. From our earthly nature they do not spring, for they war against the passions and appetites, they are the manifestations of a better nature—the advanced guard, if we may so speak, of the powers of an invisible world. If our faith in these divine attributes were to be less, because we cannot see them; if we ventured to slight the generous sentiments by which they are revealed to us, because they cannot be the objects of our examination, should we not indeed become contemptible to ourselves, and unworthy of the gift of life? If these are imaginations, leave them for me, and take away that which you call reality.

And the Conscience!—it is the most powerful voice which

speaks to the heart of man ; more wonderful, more inexplicable, than any instinct whatsoever ; a deep mystery of the soul, which the sense can never explore, yet which is an object of the most undoubting faith—' *Thou must* '—Whoever has heard that mandate in his heart, speaking amidst temptations and pleasures and necessities ; whoever has felt that it ought to be obeyed, has ' not seen, but yet has believed.' The clearest revelation of an invisible world, surpassing in authority and power all that is visible, has been his.

He has believed in moral obligation, in duty and in right, and such a faith makes man an immortal being. He has believed in God ; for the idea of God is that of rectitude, intelligence, goodness, love, power, invested with the attributes of the infinite. He has found, too, in nature, and in his own soul, no equivocal traces of the being to whom all these attributes belong ; traces unseen by the outward eye, but ever visible to the spirit. In God and in his conscience, in the order and the disorder of the world, he finds the need and the promise of an immortal life ; without this and without God it would be idle to talk of duty.

Here then are mind and its powers, here are the infinite, the beautiful, the lovely, the holy, the just, the divine, the immortal, all subjects of undoubting faith, yet all invisible. These are our life, they are what we cherish, what we prize. These are what rouse up our souls within us when we read of those chosen men in whose hearts things unseen have triumphed over the objects of sense. Nothing can make clear the page of human history but the admission of things invisible. The idea of illimitable power which comes in, in the midst of a world of limitations, of duty amid the strife of interests and pleasures, of what is unchangeable in the midst of fluctuation, of eternity in the midst of time, of God in the diversity of nature, these alone can explain a large portion of the history of human nature. And things invisible have been the most powerful agents on the stage of events, inasmuch as the spirit is the loftiest part of human nature. Man is not, like the brute, an organized being, ministered to by intelligence,—man is a mind ministered to by organized matter. Whoever regards him in a lower light does not understand him.

The invisible, then, is everything—the visible, how little in comparison ! The invisible comprehends the soul, the power of thought, and all goodness, virtue. Is there anything in the universe so grand, so high, so beautiful, or so true ? It is this which ennobles and purifies the soul, and this which brightens the world with reflections from above. Here are the order, harmony, benevolence, and beauty which enchant us when we survey nature. It brings exhaustless delights. The invisible, without, speaks to the invisible within, in language which cannot be misunderstood. God speaks to the soul. Therefore it is that the earth is beau-

tiful; if what our eyes behold or our hands can touch were all, that world would be a desert.

Do not then pride yourself upon your acuteness or superiority of mind when you profess to believe only what you see. Marvelous acuteness! The eagle then ranks higher than you, for he sees better and further. Superiority like this belongs principally to old and corrupted nations, who have refined upon their luxuries and wants, till they have made sensation everything, all the rest nothing. It is a real symptom of degradation, for it argues a weakness of moral principle, the tendency of which is quite of an opposite nature. All moral agents believe in things unseen; if they cease to do this, they cease to be moral. But it is in this as in other things, the ignorant treat as fancies, what those who understand them know to be important truths. Astronomy, to one totally ignorant of it, is no less a chimera than religion to a sensual man, or music to the deaf.

And here I cannot but observe that the grand aim of Christianity was not so much to increase the number of things which we must believe without seeing them, for many of these were believed without its aid, but rather to submit some of our hidden realities to the cognizance of the senses. Jesus came, not so much to make us believe what we cannot behold, as to make us behold what heretofore had been only believed in. He came to incorporate in his life, to manifest and clothe in a form that might be seen and felt, all those lofty ideas of goodness, greatness, and truth, which had been floating about in the human mind for ages. The government of the world by an infinite mind, the new existence reserved for our race, the dread of sin, and the mercy of God, these might be the objects of faith before, but he fixed and embodied them in external facts, in the course of his lofty mission.

Place man where you will, in whatever condition you please, he will be noble, great, pure, moral, and blessed, if he 'has not seen and yet has believed.' He will be little and low, immoral, and, finally, wretched, if he believes only 'because he has seen.'

CRITICAL NOTICES.

SINGLE SERMONS.

- I.—*Moral Cautions on the anticipated Approach of the Cholera.* A Sermon, by W. J. Fox. London: C. Fox. 1831.
- II.—*The Happy and Triumphant Close of a Christian Course.* A Sermon on occasion of the lamented Death of the Rev. J. Manning. By H. Acton. Browne: Exeter. Hunter: London. 1831.
- III.—*The True Foundations of Joy and Peace in Believing.* A Sermon preached at Bridgwater, before the Western Unitarian Society. By H. Acton. Browne: Bristol. Hunter: London. 1831.
- IV.—*One is Your Master—even Christ.* A Discourse delivered before the Presbyterian Synod of Munster. By W. H. Drummoud, D.D. M.R. I.A. Hunter: London. Hodges: Dublin. 1831.
- V.—*Unitarians entitled to the Name of Christians.* A Sermon. To which is added, a Letter to the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, animadverting on some Passages in his Address to the Constituents of Airedale College. By Joseph Hutton, LL.D. Hunter. 1831.

THE sermon which stands first in this list is noticed chiefly to observe that one, at least, of the preacher's 'cautions' was speedily shown not to be superfluous. Among other premonitions, intended to put the mind into the state which is most desirable, in the event of the extension of the ravages of the cholera in this country, is the following:—

'If it must come, let it not impair or pervert our piety; let it not degrade the character of our devotion. If pestilence raged around us in forms far worse than there is reason now to apprehend;—if towns were depopulated, and the rank grass grew in the streets of cities, and loved ones fell by our side, and the dead were left to bury the dead,—it would not be the less true that God is love, the Almighty Father, the universal Father, the everlasting Father. Some would blaspheme the more, and profane the name of their Maker; some would tremble and crouch before his supposed vindictive wrath; but Christian faith would love, and trust, and bless, amid the desolation. Filial piety to God is not a mere sensation, produced by the immediate action of some external, pleasurable cause. It is not like the torrent, mighty after showers, and vanishing in the drought; but the ever-flowing stream, fed from a living fountain. If plague or pestilence be a reason why God is not a being of boundless love and mercy, and the object of ceaseless grateful piety, why let us overturn our altars now, and close our temples, for such things have been in the world, again and again. The good will not predominate the less, nor be less the ultimate result of all, when we are suffering the evil, should we be called to its endur-

ance. And as this is the right (though it may be difficult) feeling of endurance, so is it, and more easy, of anticipation. Let us look forward in the light of divine love. If the peril come, it has its mission; it comes from God, and for his purposes. If so we anticipate, we may be sure that to us it will be a mission of mercy. We shall not be afraid, for we shall have nothing to fear. "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him;" and that trust is amply justified, and will be gloriously rewarded.'—*Moral Cautions, &c.*, pp. 14, 15.

Scarcely had these remarks reached the public, through the press, when the following prayers were issued by authority, to be used 'in all churches and chapels during the continuance of our danger from the pestilence.' They are inserted entire, not having before been put on record in our pages.

'Most gracious Father and God, who hast promised forgiveness of sins to all them that, with hearty repentance and true faith, turn unto Thee, look down, we beseech Thee, from Heaven, Thy dwelling-place, upon us, Thy unworthy servants, who, under an awful apprehension of Thy judgments, and a deep conviction of our sinfulness, prostrate ourselves before Thee. We acknowledge it to be of thy goodness alone, that whilst Thou hast visited other nations with pestilence, Thou hast so long spared us. Have pity, O Lord, have pity on Thy people, both here and abroad. Withdraw Thy heavy hand from those who are suffering under Thy judgments, and turn away from us that grievous calamity, against which our only security is in Thy compassion. We confess, with shame and contrition, that, in the pride and hardness of our hearts, we have shown ourselves unthankful for thy mercies, and have followed our own imaginations instead of Thy holy laws. Yet, O merciful Father, suffer not Thy destroying Angel to lift up his hand against us, but keep us, as Thou hast heretofore done, in health and safety; and grant that, being warned by the sufferings of others to repent of our own sins, we may be preserved from all evil by Thy mighty protection, and enjoy the continuance of thy mercy and grace, through the merits of our only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ. Amen.'

'O Almighty God, who, by the many instances of mortality which encompass us on every side, dost call upon us seriously to consider the shortness of our time here upon earth, and remindest us that in the midst of life we are in death, so teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Give us grace to turn unto Thee with timely repentance, and thus to obtain, through the merits of our Saviour, that pardon to-day, which to-morrow it may be too late to seek for; that so being strengthened by Thy good Spirit against the terrors of death, and daily advancing in godliness, we may at all times be ready to give up our souls into Thy hands, O gracious Father, in the hope of a blessed immortality, through the mediation, and for the merits, of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'

The first of these forms is particularly objectionable. Where a judgment is assumed, the connexion between the transgression and the suffering should be pointed out. We are expressly forbidden by our Lord to infer the one from the other. The assumption is at vari-

ance with the spirit of the New Testament, and with obvious fact. The cholera knows nothing of saint or sinner. Intemperate habits may predispose for its reception; so may debility of frame, induced by bodily or mental exertions of the most honourable description. Its herald may not only be the wine-cup of the reveller, but the tear of the mourner, or the midnight lamp of the student. Warsaw suffered more than Moscow. Constantine perished, it is true; but Nicholas survives. Diebitsch was struck; but another wears the blood-bought title to which he aspired. It is not thus that God judges the earth. Pestilence has its mission; but not to make us 'discern between the righteous and the wicked.' Repentance has its obligations; but to feel their force, we must distinguish the sins for which its exercise is enjoined. Concerning what particular sins 'the sufferings of others' from the cholera are to warn the people of Great Britain to be penitent, it is difficult to say. If we 'ought to sing praises with understanding,' we certainly ought not to talk of our transgressions unmeaningly or unfeelingly. The confession in this prayer deserves both these epithets. Were we to select an offence as most proper for allusion in this act of devotion, it would be best described in the words of St. James—'Ye have despised the poor.' If there be a great national sin, on which the cholera can be regarded as a judgment, it is this. The condition of the lower classes is an invitation to disease. But then the crime is perpetrated by one portion of society, and the calamity falls upon another. Not the authors, but the victims of institutions which engender poverty, ignorance, and vice, are the greatest sufferers from contagious or epidemic disease. No; the heads of the church could not have meant this, or they would not have combined for the prevention of that great political measure which, in its results, would more avail than all their forms for the improvement of the condition of the poor. They would have shown penitence by 'mercy, and not sacrifice.'

Mr. Acton's funeral discourse for his excellent and lamented coadjutor, Mr. Manning, has appended to it the address and prayer delivered at the interment. It is an appropriate and interesting sermon, from the words, 'I have finished my course.' The preacher treats of human life as a course of duty, of trials, and of discipline; and concludes by a personal application of the subject to the character and conduct of him who had been 'upwards of fifty years the faithful and beloved pastor of the Christian church assembling' in George's Meeting House, Exeter. This simple and literal description is, perhaps, a stronger eulogy on the deceased, than the most eloquent tongue could pronounce. He who, in such a station, has been for half a century both 'faithful and beloved,' needs neither 'storied urn nor monumental bust' to certify his worth or preserve his memory.

Of No. 3, we have no hesitation in saying that it is the ablest publication of Mr. Acton's with which we are acquainted. It is decided without being dogmatical, and controversial without being pugnacious, and unitarian without being sectarian. With the hand of a master-builder he lays 'the true foundations of peace and joy in believing.' The necessity is shown of personal conviction, distinct views, sound principles, progressive attainment, and consistent conduct. The argument is broad and powerful. There is nothing of that petty and

squabbling spirit which often displays itself in controversial discussions. We rejoice in such discourses as showing the growth amongst us of a just perception of the genius of genuine Christianity; of which it is but poor praise merely to say that it is anti-Calvinistic.

The sermons of Drs. Drummond and Hutton are very characteristic of their respective authors, the more strikingly so from the combination of diversity of manner with similarity and almost identity of subject. Our readers are acquainted with both; and will expect to find Dr. Drummond in his manly, fearless, and fervent way, repelling aggression, dethroning usurpation, denouncing the wrong, and asserting the right; and Dr. Hutton, in his accustomed tone of dignified expostulation, sending his rebuke home to the hearts of the gainsayers,—so many of them as have hearts which anything from a reputed heretic can reach. This is what readers will expect; and they will not be disappointed. Dr. Drummond throws himself amid his controversial opponents like a mailed warrior, raising his battle-cry, and dealing around him blows which need no repetition; Dr. Hutton approaches their ranks like a white-robed herald, with a flag of truce on the trumpet, which yet gives no uncertain sound, and invites them to an amicable parley. May insolent bigots be taught humility by having to sustain the perilous onset of the one; and good-hearted fanatics learn charity by encountering the persuasive remonstrances of the other!

We give a specimen of each discourse.

‘Had men, instead of listening with stupid credulity to Popes and Fathers, turned their eyes to Christ, and had recourse to the “law and the testimony,” religion would never have suffered the degradation and corruption, by which its beauty has been tarnished and its influence impaired. But it is to be lamented, that they have always been too much disposed, from ignorance or fear, to give up their right to think, to inquire, to judge and decide for themselves,—a most dangerous concession; for from not knowing, not valuing, or not having courage to maintain their rights, they might soon be left without any rights to maintain. They might be reduced to a state of abject slavery, both political and religious. As long as they continue steadfast in their allegiance to Christ, they possess the truth, and the truth makes them free. But they bring themselves into bondage,—abject, miserable, degrading bondage,—as often as they transfer to man that right of decision, which belongs only to God and their own conscience.

‘Of all the enemies of the truth, in every age of church history, none has proved more formidable than deference to the authority of those who usurp the lordship of conscience, and, contrary to the Saviour’s injunction, will be called *Master* or *Rabbi*, or any other name with which the spirit of adulation can gratify the proud. Our Saviour himself found this to be one of the most insuperable obstacles to the adoption of his faith. The question, in his day, was not, What proofs has he given that he is the Christ, the Son of the living God—what doctrines has he taught—what miracles performed?—But, “Have any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees, believed on him?” The common people, who yielded to the force of their honest convictions, were immediately assailed by reproaches and imprecations. “This people, who know not the law, (*i. e.*, who do not understand the law, as interpreted by their rabbies,) are cursed.” Such, in every age, is the

language of those who insolently assume the title of the Orthodox. Such are the insults to be endured by honest men, who dare to think for themselves, when they differ from the law-established dogmas of Scribes and Pharisees. Such, too, is the impious arrogance of the latter to decide on every question that comes between man and his God. Though their pretensions are sometimes resisted, they are too frequently allowed; and doctrines are admitted, not because they are true, but because they are clamorously advocated, because those who reject them are vilified and anathematized—or because they are connected with certain worldly advantages, and espoused by the powers that be—by landlords, patrons, profitable customers, and the great man of the family, whose smile must be purchased by a dereliction of principle, and the advocacy of established corruptions. Wealth, and power, and fashion, and popularity, have a wonderful influence, as every one knows, in perverting the judgment of more than their possessors. They dazzle the vain, and seduce the weak. As for the worldling, he follows the stream, and in all circumstances clings to the side of the strong. He tolerates every abuse—justifies every enormity. In the judgment-hall he re-echoes the sentence of Pilate, and in the crowd he shouts, not Christ but Barabbas!

‘We have sometimes heard it maintained that it is of little consequence what master a man serves, what form of church discipline he prefers, or what mode of faith he professes, provided his life be virtuous:

“His can’t be wrong whose life is in the right.”

Grant the truth of this often-repeated adage—we ask is that man’s life in the right who, though he keeps nine of the commandments, violates the tenth—who, though he neither steals, murders, nor commits adultery, yet bears false witness against his neighbour? Is he in the right who gives his assent and consent to any articles of faith, which he does not either believe or understand? Is he in the right who sanctions any mode of worship which he feels persuaded is unscriptural—who bows in the house of Rimmon, or abets the conduct of the sons of Eli, whose profligacy caused men to “abhor the offering of the Lord?” No—we contend that his life is in the wrong. By sanctioning what is false, he denies what is true. He acts a lie—he plays the hypocrite. While he pretends to be the friend of Christ, he promotes the interests of Belial. He does not crucify his master, indeed—he only delivers him into the hand of his enemies. He is neither his judge nor executioner. No—he is only a traitor, and he consummates his treason with a kiss.—*Drummond’s Sermon*, pp. 17-19.

‘And, in the first place, if you are disciples of Christ, worthy of the name, you will learn of *him only*. His school is not one in which the pupils are commissioned and empowered to perform the Master’s duty. “Learn of *me*” is his injunction, not “learn of mine.” You will find, indeed, many of your uninspired fellow-disciples very willing, and, in their own opinions, quite competent, to teach you; they will kindly offer to save you the trouble of personal inquiry; they will give you lists properly numbered, and arranged, and drawn up in terms even more clear and explicit than those of Scripture, of the articles, both essential, and non-essential, of the Christian faith; they will tell you exactly what you *must*, and what you *may*, and what you *may not*,

believe in order to salvation. My friends, by whatsoever name they may call themselves,—in whatsoever place they may address you; whether they occupy the chair of the professor or the pulpit of the divine; whether they speak to you from this pulpit, or from any other; be their reputation for talent, integrity, and soundness in the faith, high or low;—trust them not. Receive not, on their bare assertion, anything that they may say of Christ or of his law; but go at once to the fountain-head; and inquire of Christ himself. Search the Scriptures, and ascertain, to the best of your ability, from them, what are the articles—not of the Catholic Christianity of the present day, which it is of small importance for you to know—but of that Christianity which Jesus himself taught,—which deserves therefore to be,—and in the final result of all things certainly will be,—Catholic. The fictions of opinion, says a wise heathen, time blots out; the just but slowly-matured decisions of truth and reason it confirms. Be it your sole aim to understand aright the lessons of the master, as they proceed from his own lips, and those of his *inspired* followers. Trouble not yourselves to determine whether your interpretation of his words be, or be not, that which is commonly adopted. If it be the true one, you may rest assured that it will become popular in due time; and if it be not true, no popularity can sanction it, or prevent its ultimate rejection.'—*Hutton's Discourse*, pp. 20, 21.

The letter to the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, which Dr. Hutton has appended to this discourse, is admirably written. It is to be hoped that the orthodox orator has grace enough to be ashamed of himself, for he evidently has great occasion. The following is the first passage on which Dr. H. animadvert:—'*The author has not referred to the self-styled Unitarian Academies. HE CONFINES HIMSELF TO CHRISTIANITY. Such could, THEREFORE, have no more claim to a place in this catalogue than a school of Confucius in China, or the college of Dervishes in Ispahan.*' The venom of this passage is harmless; the toad itself may be worth preserving and exhibiting as a curiosity to those of our readers who are not familiar with Calvinistic rhetoric. In addition to Dr. Hutton's pertinent inquiry, 'Why Unitarians should not so style themselves?' It may be asked by what term, which is not condemnatory and calumnious, they would be allowed to call themselves, without animadversion? The term 'Humanitarian' has been most frequently suggested by opponents. But besides that this designation belongs to a subordinate doctrine, and is totally inapplicable to the Arian portion of our body, it is open to the very same cavil as the term Unitarian. Once upon a time two or three of our number took a fancy to it, and what was the result? We heard a minister of some repute in Mr. Hamilton's connexion exclaim, 'They call themselves Humanitarians, forsooth! as if every Trinitarian did not also believe in the true and proper humanity of Jesus Christ!' No name but a nickname will satisfy such opponents; and of them a succession must be devised, or the opprobrium would wear out. Dr. Hutton next adverts to Mr. Hamilton's sweeping charges against Unitarian trustees. We have despoiled their treasures and usurped their sanctuaries! The pretty innocent wolves, who have been so cruelly injured by the lambs of their grandfathers! It would be decent and prudent in them to hold their tongues on this matter till the result is seen of

their legal proceedings in the Lady Hewley case. If the law (which we cannot believe) authorise their exclusive appropriation of funds, which were originally left, and have hitherto remained unfettered, why let them up and take possession. But until the plunder be legalized, let them cease to malign those who, not by any effort of their own, but in the natural course of events, have been placed between them and the object of their cupidity. We pass on to a quotation which Dr. Hutton has accompanied with commendations from which we must dissent. His letter thus concludes:—

‘And now, my dear Sir, I take my leave, yet not before I quote one eloquent passage from your Address, breathing a spirit which I could not but wish had animated the whole. “We felt,” you say, (p. 11,) speaking of the Corporation and Test Acts, in the repeal of which Dissenters of every persuasion have so much cause to rejoice, “we felt deeply *the unprovoked wrong*. It was not a question of paltry calculation,—the high-minded have other rules to determine their injuries and other sensibilities to appreciate them. We were insulted, for we were tolerated! We were grievously persecuted, for laws were extant which only were not executed because their enormity made them void! But now our hands are free! When our mind caught the first consciousness, cherished the first conviction, that we were free, that our children were free, with what ardour we sprung to the altar of Liberty, with what devotion we knelt at it, no words can describe: but as there we bent our hands, our enfranchised hands, now thrown aloft with the rapture of the new emotion, and then clasped in gratitude for the acquirement of the unexpected boon, we breathed the vow that they should never cease—until disease enfeebled and death palsied them, (Heaven has heard it! Earth shall prove us faithful to it!) to undo every burden that depresses the human mind, to break every fetter that galls the human conscience. Let the emancipated Catholic say whether we be forsworn. Let the chain be clanked from whatever shore that we would not snap asunder.” The spirit of this is everything that could be wished. I will only remind you that the chains which obloquy forges may be as galling as those of oppression, and that to be unjustly pointed at with the finger of scorn, as *unbelievers*, and *transgressors of the dictates of common honesty*, may be even more painful, than to be denounced by laws, which lie dead in the course of nature in the statute-book, and are only waiting for that formal interment, which shall completely hide their loathsome remains from the human eye.’—Hutton, pp. 44, 45.

The worst of this flourish is, that it is all mere flourish. IT IS NOT TRUE. For the last thirty or forty years orthodox dissent has done little or nothing for the cause of civil and religious liberty, unless when its own operations were directly impeded, with the single exception of the question of negro slavery. Their hearing would be worth but a short purchase if all the chains they have left untouched were to be clanked in the ears of the orthodox. The Unitarians could rattle a link or two. Moreover, we have not forgotten ‘laws which only were not executed, because their enormity made them void,’ and not because there were wanting ‘self-styled’ liberators occasionally to invoke their execution. This was before their famous vow, it may be said. Well then, we ask,

if nobody in England knows of an active smithery for chain manufacture established in the north of Ireland? Has nothing been done in Ulster to depress the human mind or gall the human conscience? Which of the proceedings of a body, in which the spirit of the inquisition seems to have become again incarnate, has been discountenanced by those who could have interposed with most effect, by the English Trinitarian Dissenters? Against what act of persecution have they remonstrated? Nor need we look abroad,—‘Sin lieth at the door.’ Which of their churches has imitated the State, and abolished its own little Test Act? The Independents know that they dare not allow the freedom which they claim; and that in their societies, where most they have power, an honest freedom of thought and speech on theological points may have to encounter the threat of damnation and the infliction of excommunication. Let but the ear be unstopped, which an exclusive, and therefore unchristian, creed has sealed, and they may, in their own churches, hear the clanking of chains around the table of the Lord. And now, saying nothing of a long list of negatives which would reach half over Europe,—we will advert to the immediate topics of this burst of emancipatory enthusiasm. We ask, what indications [did the orthodox dissenters give, for thirty long years, of these deep feelings and high sensibilities, and of this impatience of the disgrace of toleration? They bore it very quietly. Who roused them from that long, unbroken slumber? Who excited them to action for their own liberation, and marshalled them the way to triumph, and rendered that triumph auxiliary to the yet greater victory of Catholic emancipation? Who? THE UNITARIANS. We know it; and they know it; and the Catholics know it; and every man knows it who was, or makes himself, acquainted with the proceedings. It was the formation of the Unitarian Civil Right Society which led to the revived discussion of the Test and Corporation Acts. It was an increase of the number of Unitarians among the deputies which infused new vigour into that previously inert body. It was by recognizing, *quoad hoc*, the Unitarian Association, that greater strength was gained for the general committee. And of the power of that committee, the numbers (in proportion to the whole), activity, talent, and zeal of the Unitarian members were a most important and essential element. It was by the Unitarians that the petitions to parliament in favour of Catholic emancipation, from the general body of dissenting ministers, were saved from being smothered by the previous question. It was by the orthodox dissenting ministers, in and about London, not members of the general body, that petitions were presented to the legislature *against* Catholic emancipation. In congregational petitioning on that great question of religious liberty, the Unitarians not only led the way, but fought half the battle. ‘Let the emancipated Catholic say’ on what help he most securely reckoned all through the conflict. It was not that of orthodox dissent. And if in Yorkshire, or other parts of the country, (for the scene is not, we believe, laid in London,) she did kneel at ‘the altar of liberty,’ with ‘hands thrown aloft,’ and vow the vow which Mr. Hamilton records, let all due credit be awarded for the exhibition; but its breathings must have been a little interrupted by those chain-clankings of which he speaks. We have no desire to curse Meroz; but it is rather too much for Meroz to boast of having won the battle of the Lord. The intelli-

gent friends of freedom, and there are thousands of such amongst the orthodox dissenters, ought to feel, and we hope generally do feel, that but for the Unitarians, an indelible disgrace might have been brought on the name of dissent. They must be aware, too, that the practical working of their system is not so much in favour of civil and religious liberty as they and we desire it should be. He who speaks in the name of the party should use the language of humiliation, not of boasting; and abstain from calumniating others instead of appropriating their deeds and merits.

CONTROVERSIAL PAMPHLETS.

The Athanasian Apostasy Rejected. By a Bible Christian.—Hunter.

THE *Athanasian Apostasy Rejected* is a compendium of anti-trinitarian arguments and expositions, chiefly selected from Mr. Yates's *Vindication*, with a reprint of Dr. Channing's 'Objections to Unitarian Christianity considered,' and an introduction by the compiler, who is we understand, Mr. Thomas Cobbett of Farnham, a nephew of the well-known William Cobbett. The style of the introduction would be improved by 'a little mollification.' Those who do not except to the seasoning, will find the substance very wholesome.

Church Reform, a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. By a Layman.—E. Wilson.

It was said, in Russia, that the Cholera was preceded by the appearance of swarms of little blue flies. They came in clouds; and then came the angel of death. Let the Church read the riddle. The pamphlet before us is one of a class, which has of late become so numerous, as to defy the industry of reviewers, and almost to baffle the power of arithmetic.

The layman is not an eloquent or profound, but a clear and sensible writer, and well acquainted with his subject, of which he takes a very extensive view. The following remarks were published before the introduction of Mr. Stanley's proposition on Irish Tithes:—

'The existing Church has now a weak side, which it had not forty years ago. Within that period a co-partnership has been formed with the Irish Church, in which it is said the abuses are still more flagrant than here. Some reforms must be made in Ireland; and they will be much stronger precedents for reform in England than if the two Churches had remained distinct. I never could understand the advantage accruing to the English Church from that union: yet the measure, when proposed in the English parliament, passed without an observation of any kind. Not a word uttered either to approve or disapprove. The laity seemed to think that the measure did not concern them in any way; while, no doubt, the bishops felt pleased at the approaching extension of their corporation to the sister island.

'For this *worldly* conduct, however, the English Church bids fair to be severely punished; and *deservedly*, as she has been instrumental in perpetuating the clerical abuses in Ireland. Had the English Church never taken that of Ireland into partnership, the latter would have undergone a change long ago. But, since the association, the failings

of the Irish Church have to be accounted for by the English Church also ; it being the universal law of partnership, that the acts of some of a firm are considered as being done in the name of the whole. Thus will the consequences of the Irish errors be made to fall upon those who have lent a hand to uphold them : thereby confirming the justice of that law of nature, which ordains that vices should carry their own chastisements in their train.'—pp. 63, 64.

Four Dialogues between Mr. Smith, a Churchman ; Mr. Stedman, a Unitarian ; and Mr. Wilson, a Calvinist, relating chiefly to Mystery and the Trinity, Original Sin or Depravity, and the Atonement.
By Wm. Hison. London, Hunter, 1831.

AN old story in a new dress, and the dress such as to give new interest to an old story. The writer's classical predilections may have had their influence in determining the form of the publication. Certainly his conversance with Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero, seems to have aided him in preserving the characteristics of the interlocutors and the spirit of the discourse. With their excellences are united an ease and simplicity of style, so that 'the sense (to translate from Quintilian) is obvious, even to the careless reader ; striking the mind as the rays of the sun do the eyes, though they are not directed upwards to it.' Wickliffe's 'Trilogus' shook the Babel of papal corruptions to its base. We are not without a hope, that Hison's (ask the 'Editor' if this is not a *nom de guerre*) trilogus may do much to undermine these bulwarks of Antichrist, 'mystery—the Trinity—depravity and atonement.' Nor do we doubt that this tract would be found more useful than a long and systematic dissertation with those who are ignorant of the Unitarian Controversy ; especially if persons of limited time and mental cultivation.

While we approve of the general spirit of the piece, and the sentiments and arguments brought forward, the writer of this notice would point out the following passage as one which requires qualification.

'They (the Unitarians) have fabricated no system, by which they have ready access to the pockets of their flocks, on behalf of associations, and societies, and missions, of which the exaggerated accounts at a series of meetings create an excitement and a charity, which are more easily accounted for than approved. They rigorously exact no "penny a week" from their poor members : in fact, they do not expect the poor members to give anything ; they issue no quarterly tickets ; they do not eagerly catch at every passing opportunity to preach *two sermons* all the year round. These are not the questionable acts of the Unitarians. Whatever party spirit they may have, these elements do not enter into it. The Unitarians are as concerned to observe these deceptive arts of popularity in others, as they are averse to use them themselves.'

Our own opinion is, that all these plans may not be 'arts'—still less intentionally 'deceptive,' and though there is much over-doing among the Orthodox, there is as much neglect among Unitarians. The selfish principle is strong enough to keep people's money in their pockets ; to draw it thence an antagonist of some power is needed ; and though we

abhor 'fabrication,' we would have organization and system. Though we abhor fanaticism, we are not averse from wholesome 'excitement.' And though we would not, for the world, 'exact' money from the literally poor, we would have all contribute that could,—though the contribution be but the widow's mite,—to the support of public worship and the furtherance of the gospel, and of plans of beneficence.

B.

HISTORY AND SCIENCE.

Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, including the Constitutional and Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Decease of Elizabeth to the Abdication of James II. By R. Vaughan. 2 vols. Svo.—Holdsworth.

WE mention these volumes now, because we are apprehensive that it will not speedily be in our power to afford them that more extended notice which they deserve. The author is a minister, mentally as well as ecclesiastically, of the Independent class. He is already advantageously known to our readers by his life of Wycliffe, which was reviewed in our number for September, 1828. His present work is equally characterized by judgment, zeal, and indefatigable industry. His chief object is to show the influence 'of the Puritans and their descendants, on the great questions of civil freedom and liberty of conscience.' This object is pursued with a kindred sternness of mind to that of the parties in question, which prevents his degenerating into the advocate or apologist. We feel that we have to do with an honest and conscientious narrator; one who will not turn aside a hair's-breadth from the path of truth, for the sake of producing an effect. The tone of his reflections is often very liberal, because he always aims to be strictly just.

Lives of the most Eminent British Military Commanders. By the Rev. G. R. Gleig. Vol. i. (Vol. xxv. of the Cabinet Cyclopædia).

THE lives in this volume are those of Sir Walter Manny, Sir Francis de Vere, Oliver Cromwell, and the Duke of Marlborough. 'They are selected for the purpose of exhibiting the changes which, from age to age, occurred in the tactics of our most renowned warriors. The life of Sir Walter Manny, for example, exhibits a specimen of the military commander, at an era when war was rather a trial of bodily prowess than a science. That of Sir Francis de Vere, serves to illustrate the gradual introduction of a new system, originating in the invention of fire-arms, and necessarily resulting from it. Cromwell, of course, holds his place in this collection, as the founder of standing armies in England; and Marlborough, as the man who first established the claim of the British soldier to take rank with the best and most skilful in Europe.'

The purpose of the selection is further promoted by a very interesting introduction, containing a general view of the military systems recognised in England, from the earliest periods down to the present time. To some of the political reflections in the life of Cromwell we

cannot subscribe ; and there is a want of consistency in the motives and feelings ascribed to him at the outset of his public life. But the narrative is usually written in the very best manner. Mr. Gleig tells a story, and especially a story of battle and adventure, excellently well. The life of Marlborough is only commenced in this volume. How far the author is qualified to illustrate the science of war, and appreciate the distinctive qualities of its great masters, remains to be shown in the continuation of the series. The biographies in the present volume are as captivating as romances.

The Working-Man's Companion. Rights of Industry. I. Capital and Labour.—London, Charles Knight, 1831.

HOLDING, as we have long done, the opinion that political economy is the science of all others the most necessary to be extensively understood in the present condition of society, we hail all attempts to render it familiar and interesting to the mass of the people. We rejoiced in the appearance of the 'Results of Machinery;' and, though somewhat disappointed in the book itself, were willing to overlook its defects of arrangement, &c. in consideration of the great benefit which must arise from this first exhibition of the subject therein treated in a popular form. We were equally disposed to a favourable regard of the work before us ; but notwithstanding all our endeavours to think the best of it, we cannot be persuaded that it is suited to its object, or that its execution does credit to the society by which it is issued. If it had been the first attempt of an individual writer, published without authority, we should have honoured the benevolence of the project, and been very tolerant of its faults, while we thought it our duty to expose them ; but we see no inducement to toleration in the present case. Associations like that under whose auspices the Working-Man's Companion is issued, have no excuse for not taking care that all they publish is as good as it can be made. It is not enough that they discern the wants of the people, and do something towards supplying them ; they ought, moreover, to furnish the best information, conveyed in the best manner ; and this they have not done in the present instance. We like the intention of this book ; we like its subject ; we like its cheapness ; and, what is more, we approve its general views : but there our approbation ends. Its style is unsuitable to its object ; and the hopeless confusion of its contents neutralizes much of what is good in them.

If there is any department of knowledge in which perspicuous division of subject and arrangement of materials is easy to the teacher and essential to the learner, it is political economy. Facts may almost be said to classify themselves, and principles to assume their own true order ; and we should have scarcely believed it possible to collect such a mass of valuable information, and to announce such important principles as we find in this little volume, to so little purpose. We have a mob instead of a regiment of illustrations ; and we can answer for ourselves that, if we had never studied the argument before, we should have had a very vague idea of it now. It is truly mortifying that so mottled a fabric should have issued from machinery which is boasted of as combining such ample resources.

The style is also inappropriate. There are affectations and prettinesses in it, which will never suit those for whom it is written; and in every page we find long words and philosophical terms which cannot possibly be familiar to the working-man, and which have no necessary connexion with the subject. We would fain send the author back to the catechism of the Corn Laws, to learn perspicuity and simplicity. If he proved an apt pupil, we should have no more going backwards and forwards over the surface of a subject, lighting here and there, only for the sake of flying away again; we should have no laboured embellishments, where plain truth is the best eloquence the topic admits.

We wish that everybody who agrees with us in our opinion of this book would speak out. More numbers are coming, and their quality might be improved by timely criticism. Amply and rapidly may they come, for the people can scarcely hear too much of this class of subjects. But let what is taught, be well taught;—boldly, clearly, and simply. Such teaching we have a right to demand of the Diffusion Society on behalf of the people; and by issuing anything inferior, it forfeits its pledges and its character. R.

On Lavements in Indigestion. By Edward Jukes, Surgeon. Second Edition. Wilson, 1831.

A VERY sensible and useful little book, by the ingenious inventor of the stomach-pump, which has saved so many lives. We recommend it to all families. There is no quackery in it; no affectation of enabling people to do without medical assistance; but much salutary suggestion, a timely attention to which may greatly conduce to the preservation of health.

The author is, however, only to be trusted on his own ground. He understands medicine, not theology, and is a better judge of indigestion than of inspiration. ‘*Scriptural Diet*’ (p. 143) may, or may not, be the most wholesome diet for an Englishman in the reign of King William the Fourth. In referring to the 14th chapter of Deuteronomy, Mr. Jukes forgets that we are now not under the law of carnal ordinances. His argument is bad logic, where he says, ‘that the Bible being true, we are as much bound to adopt these precepts as the other commandments of Scripture which have been written for our guidance.’ These were not written for *our* guidance. They are history, not morality. Were it otherwise, we might still be allowed to wish that our obligation to obey the precepts of Moses should apply to them as expounded by the comments of Abernethy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Pompeii, vol. I. (*Library of Entertaining Knowledge*.) Charles Knight.

No one can deny that the Diffusion Society is very useful while it brings out such publications as this. There is in it abundance of knowledge, which is abundantly entertaining. It is beautifully got up,

with steel engravings and wood-cuts, the latter very numerous ; and the letter-press is rich in diversified amusement and information. The restoration of Pompeii (the frontispiece) is a splendid picture. The illustrations, both pictorial and descriptive, are full of interest. If Mr. Knight does not send us the second volume, we shall certainly buy it to complete our set ; though that is a practice to which we are not addicted. It is sometimes said of news, that 'it is too good to be true ;' and we half suspect that our enjoyment is too great to be moral ; for it diminishes our humane horror at what the Editor describes as 'the catastrophe which overwhelmed Pompeii, and provided a subject for this volume.' We have here a new application of the doctrine of final causes. He seems to think the poor town was Burked for his dissection : perhaps this induced him to cause Vesuvius to be so beautifully executed. The mountain deserved it, being taken almost in the very act.

Mental Recreation, or Select Maxims, Sayings, and Observations of Philosophers, Statesmen, Divines, &c., upon most subjects. Alphabetically arranged. Longman.

THE compiler has levied contributions on a great variety of authors, Solon and Pythagoras, Seneca and Horace, Shakspeare, Fuller, Zimmerman, and Miss Porter. The result is, a volume of three hundred and thirty 12mo. pages, on about four hundred and fifty subjects. More taste and judgment might have been displayed in the selection. While some of the maxims are excellent, others are false, and others again are downright twaddle. Yet the book, though not a trusty guide, may prove a very amusing companion ; and if it do not instruct, still it may stimulate the reader to instruct himself. We subjoin, as a specimen, the apophthegms under the head FRIENDSHIP.

'Similitude of manners is the strongest cement of friendship.'—*Pliny.*

'How fulsome and hollow does that man appear that cries—"I am resolved to deal fairly with you." If so, what need of all this flourish ? let your actions speak ; and as nothing is more scandalous than false friendship, therefore of all things avoid it.'—*M. Antoninus.*

'Friendship is the perfection of love.'

'True friendship rejoiceth as much at his friend's good fortune as he does at his own.'

'Be slow to fall into friendship ; but when engaged, be firm and constant.'—*Socrates.*

'Friendship is given by nature for a help to virtue, not for a companion to vice.'

'Friendship is often better and more advantageous than consanguinity.'

'Those who violate a long friendship, though they escape the punishment of their friend, shall not escape the vengeance of God.'—*Socrates.*

'The love of man to woman is a thing common, and of course, and at first partakes more of instinct and passion than of choice ; but true friendship between man and man is infinite and immortal.'—*Plato.*

'Contract no friendship or even acquaintance with a guileful man ; he resembles a coal, which when hot burneth the hand, and when cold blacketh it.'—*Hindoo.*

‘A friend as far as conscience allows.’—*French Prov.*

‘Who turns up his nose is unfit for friendship.’—*Lavater.*

‘Roughness in friendship is at least as disgusting as an offensive breath from a beautiful mouth.’—*Lavater.*

‘Trust him with little, who, without proofs, trusts you with everything; or, when he has proved you, trusts you with nothing.’—*Lavater.*

Luther's Table Talk, or some Choice Fragments from the Familiar Discourse of that Godly, Learned Man, and Famous Champion of God's Truth, Doctor Martin Luther. Longman, 1832.

A BOOK which ought to be upon the tables of all who can relish the extempore effusions, sometimes stern, sometimes playful, sometimes odd, but generally characteristic and striking, of one of the most vigorous of human intellects. The original collection was published, in 1571, by Henry Peter Rebenstock, minister of Eischenheim, and translated into English by Captain Bell, who had served in Germany. More doubt is thrown upon the authority of the work in the preface, than we think can be justified. In the selection, at least, of which this volume consists, almost every article bears internal evidence of genuineness. The passages by which an owl's gravity may be annoyed are not likely to have been inventions either of the admirers or the foes of Luther. The committee of the Long Parliament, in authorizing the printing of the translation, add to their commendation, that ‘we find withal many impertinent things; some things which will require a grain or two of salt; and some things which will require a marginal note or preface.’ Yet even these may serve, to borrow Captain Bell's phrase, ‘to recreate and refresh the company.’

Luther's Talk, as here chronicled, thanks to the Boswell, whoever he was—he had a nobler subject than the Scotchman—is full of character. Its most remarkable feature is a jovial energy, like that of Shakspeare's Richard, only directed to the purest and highest objects of thought, and showing the devotion with which heart, soul, and life were consecrated to the cause in which he had embarked. It is table talk; but the table talk of the mighty reformer. We shall quote as long as the space we can spare will hold out.

‘The second Psalm,’ said Luther, ‘is one of the best Psalms. I love that Psalm with all my heart. It strikes and slashes valiantly among the kings, princes, and high counsellors. If it be true, which this Psalm says, then are the purposes of the Papists stark follies. If I were as our Lord God, and had committed the government to my son, as He has to his son, and these angry gentlemen were as disobedient as they are now, I,’ said Luther, ‘should be throwing the world into a lump.’

‘Mary, the poor maiden of Nazareth, also scuffleth and ruffleth with these great kings, princes, &c., as she sings “*He hath put down the mighty from their seat.*” ‘No doubt,’ said Luther, ‘she had an excellent undaunted voice. I, for my part, dare not sing so. The tyrants say, “*Let us break their bonds asunder.*” What that is,’ said he, ‘present experience teaches us; for we see how they drown, how they hang, burn, behead, strangle, banish, and torture. And all this they do in

despite of God. But he sits above in heaven, and laughs them to scorn. If,' said Luther, 'God would be pleased to give me a little time, that I might expound a couple of small Psalms, I would bestir myself so boldly, that (Sampson-like) I would take all the Papists away with me.'—p. 28.

'I,' said Luther, 'have now angered the Pope about his images and idolatry. O, how the sow raiseth her bristles! I have a great advantage against him: for the Lord saith unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. He saith also, I will raise you up at the last day; and then he will call and say, Ho! Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, John Calvin, &c., arise, come up; and God will call us by our names, as our Saviour Christ, in St. John's Gospel, *Et vocat eos nominatim*. Well, on,' said Luther, 'let us be of good comfort.'—p. 30.

'I intended many times,' said Luther, 'well and thoroughly to search and find out the Ten Commandments: but when I began at the first words, *I am the Lord thy God*, there stuck I fast; the very first word, I, brought me to a nonplus. Therefore, he [that hath but one only word of God to his text, and out of that one cannot make a sermon, will never be a good preacher. I am content,' said Luther, 'that I know, though but a little, what God's word is; and take great heed that I murmur not at such my small knowledge, which God hath given me.'

'I have grounded my preaching upon the literal word: whoso pleaseth may follow me; he that will not, may choose. I challenge St. Peter, St. Paul, Moses, and all the saints, who were not able, fundamentally, to understand one only word of God, on which they had not continually to learn; for the Psalm saith, *Sapientiæ ejus non est numerus*; his wisdom and understanding is infinite. True it is, the saints do know God's word, and they can speak thereof, but the practice will not follow; therein we are, and remain always scholars. 'The school divines,' said Luther, 'gave a fine comparison touching the same. "It is therewith," say they, "as with a sphere or round globe, which lying on a table toucheth upon it but with one point; while, notwithstanding, the table supporteth the globe wholly and altogether." I,' said Luther, 'am an old doctor of divinity; yet to this day I am not come out of the children's learning; that is, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. I confess seriously, that I understand them not yet as well as I should: for if I rightly understood, and did believe only these few words—*Our Father which art in Heaven*; that God who made heaven and earth, and created all creatures, and hath all things in his hand and power, were my father, then, should I certainly conclude with myself, that I am, in a manner, a lord of heaven and earth; that Christ is my brother; that Gabriel is my servant, and Raphael my coachman; that all the angels in my necessities are my attendants; for they are given unto me of my Heavenly Father to keep me in all my ways; in short, it must needs follow that everything is mine*. But to the end our faith may be exercised and confirmed, our Heavenly Father suffereth

* 1 Cor. iii. 21, &c.

some of us to be cast into the dungeon, some to be drowned in water, &c. Then we see and find how finely we understood these words, and how faith quivereth and striveth, and how great our weakness is, then we begin to think and to say, Ah, who knoweth whether that be true or not which is written in the Scriptures?'—pp 128, 129.

'God's power is great,' said Luther, 'who upholdeth and nourisheth the whole world; and it is a hard article where we say and acknowledge, I believe in God the Father, &c. He hath created all things sufficient for us. All the seas are our cellars, all the woods are our huntings, and the earth is full of silver and gold, and of innumerable fruits, which are created all for our sakes—the earth is a warehouse, and a larder for us,' &c.

'One evening Luther saw cattle going along a pasture-field, "Behold," said he, "there go our preachers; there are our milk-bearers, butter-bearers, cheese and wool-bearers, which do daily preach to us faith towards God, that we should trust in Him, as in our loving Father, who careth for us, and will maintain and nourish us."'

'No man,' said Luther, 'can calculate the great charges God is at only in maintaining the birds and such creatures, which, in a manner, are nothing, or of little worth. I am persuaded,' said he, 'that it costeth God more yearly to maintain the sparrows alone, than the whole year's revenue of the French king! What, then, shall we say of the rest of his creatures?'

'God,' said Luther, 'could be exceeding rich in money and in temporal wealth, if He pleased; but He will not. If He were but to come to the pope, to the emperor, to a king, a prince, a bishop, to a rich merchant, a citizen, or a farmer, and were to say,—"Except thou givest me a hundred thousand crowns, thou shalt die this instant,"—then every one would presently say, "I will give it with all my heart, if I may but live." But now we are such unthankful slovens, that we give him not so much as a *Deo gratias*, although we receive from him richly, and overflowing, so great benefits, merely out of his goodness and mercy. Is not this a shame? Yet, notwithstanding such our unthankfulness, our Lord God and merciful Father doth not suffer Himself thereby to be scared away, but continually doth show to us all manner of goodnesses. 'But,' said Luther, 'if, in his gifts and benefits, he were more sparing, and in imparting the same to us were more close-handed, then might we learn to be thankful. If, for example, he caused every human creature to be born into the world with only one leg or foot, and seven years afterwards gave him the other leg; or, in the fourteenth year gave one of the hands, and in the twentieth the other, then we should better acknowledge God's gifts and benefits; we should then also value them at a higher rate, and be thankful to Almighty God for the same. But now, since God heaps upon us these and the like his blessings, we never regard the same, nor show ourselves thankful to him.'

'Then again,' said Luther, 'God hath given to us in these days a whole sea full of His word; He giveth unto us all manner of languages, and good; free, liberal arts: we buy, at this time, for a small price, all manner and sorts of good books, moreover, He giveth unto

us learned people, that do teach well and orderly, insomuch that a young youth (if he be not altogether a dunce), may learn and study more in one year now, than formerly in many years. Arts are now so cheap that they almost go begging for bread. "Woe be to us," said Luther, "that we are so lazy and improvident, so negligent and unthankful." But God, I fear, will shut up his liberal hand and mercy again, and will give unto us sparingly enough, so that we shall have again sects, schisms, preachers of lies, and scoffers of God, and then we shall adore and carry them upon our hands, seeing that now we do condemn His word and servants.

"The greater God's corporeal gifts and wondrous works are, the less," said Luther, "they are regarded." The greatest and most precious treasure of this kind that we receive of God is, that we can speak, hear, see, &c. Yet who is there that feels these to be God's gifts, or gives him thanks for them? Men value such things as wealth, honour, power, and other things of less worth: but what costly things can they be that so soon do vanish away? A blind man (if he be in his right wits) would willingly miss of all these, if he might but see. "The reason," said Luther, "why the corporeal gifts of God are so much undervalued, is this, that they are so common, and God bestows them upon the senseless beasts, as well as upon us people, and often in greater perfection. But what shall I say? Christ made the blind to see. He drove out devils, raised the dead, &c., yet must He be upbraided by the ungodly hypocrites who gave themselves out for God's people, and must hear from them that He was a Samaritan, and had a devil. "Ah!" said Luther, "the world is the devil's, wheresoever it be. How then can it acknowledge God's gifts and benefits? It is with God Almighty, as it is with parents and their children which are young: they regard not so much the daily bread, as an apple or a pear, or other toys."—p. 157—160.

'The wrath is fierce and devouring which the devil hath against the Son of God, and the generation of mankind. "I beheld once," said Luther, 'a wolf tearing a sheep in pieces: it pitied me much to see it. When the wolf cometh into a sheep-fold, he devours none till he has killed them all: then he begins to eat, thinking he shall devour all. Even so it is also with the devil. I have now, thinketh he, taken hold of Christ, in time also I will snap his disciples; but the devil's foolishness is this: he seeth not that he hath to do with the Son of God: he knoweth not that, in the end, it will be his bane. It will come to that pass," said Luther, "that the devil must be afraid of a child in the cradle: for when he only heareth the name of Jesus, uttered out of a true faith, then he cannot stay, for he thinketh, I have murdered him." The devil would rather run through fire than be where Christ is: therefore it is justly said, "*Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*;" the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. "I ween, indeed," said Luther, "that he hath so crushed his head, that he can neither abide to hear nor to see Christ Jesus. I oftentimes delight myself," said Luther, "with that similitude in Job, of an angle hook. The fisherman used to put on the hook a little worm, and then cast it into the water: by-and-by cometh the fish and snatcheth at the worm, and getteth therewith the hook in his jaws, so that the fisherman pulleth him out of the water. Even so hath our Lord God dealt with the devil:

God hath cast into the world his beloved Son (as the angle), and upon the hook hath put Christ's humanity (as the worm); then cometh the devil and snappeth at the man (Christ) and devoureth him, and therewithal he biteth the iron hook, that is, the Godhead of Christ, which choketh him, and all his power is overthrown to the ground.' This is called divine wisdom.—page 171, 172.

'It is,' said Luther, 'impossible that the Christian and true church should be supported without shedding of blood, for her adversary, the devil, is a liar and a murderer; but the church groweth and increaseth through blood; she is sprinkled with blood; she is spoiled and bereaved of her blood.'

'Tertullian, the ancient teacher, saith exceeding well, *Cruore sanctorum rigatur Ecclesia*. Therefore saith the psalm, "We are as sheep appointed to be slain;" that is, who daily are slaughtered for Christ's sake. "And truly," said Luther, "it would grieve me if I should carry my blood into the grave."—p. 215.

How to preach before a Prince.

'As Dr. Erasmus Albert was called Mark of Brandenburg, he desired Luther to set down a method of preaching before the Prince Elector. Luther said, "Let all your preaching be in the most simple and plainest manner; look not to the prince, but to the plain, simple, gross, unlearned people, of which cloth the prince also himself is made. If I," said Luther, "in my preaching, should have regard to Philip Melancthon, and other learned doctors, then should I work but little goodness. I preach in the simplest manner to the unskilful, and that giveth content to all. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, I spare, until we learned ones come together; then we make it so curled and finical, that God himself wondereth at us."—pp. 233, 234.

'In ceremonies and ordinances, the kingdom of love must have the precedence and govern, and not tyranny. It must be a willing love, not a halter love; it must be altogether directed and managed for the good and profit of one's neighbour; and the greater he is that doth govern,' said Luther, 'the more he ought to serve according to love.'—p. 256.

How necessary Patience is.

'I,' said Luther, 'must be patient with the Pope, I must have patience with heretics and seducers; I must have patience with the roaring courtiers; I must have patience with my servants: I must have patience with Kate, my wife: to conclude, the patiences are so many, that my whole life is nothing but patience.'—p. 258.

'When one asked, where God was before Heaven was created? St. Austin replied, "He was in himself." And as another asked him,' said Luther, 'the like question, he said, "He was building of hell for such idle, presumptuous, fluttering spirits and inquisitors as thou art." After he had created all things,' said Luther, 'He was everywhere, and yet He was nowhere; for I cannot take hold of Him (without the word) by any cogitations of mine. But He will be found there, where He hath bound himself to be. The Jews found him at Jerusalem, by the throne of grace (Exod. xxv, 21, 22); we find him in the word and faith, in baptism and sacraments; but in His majesty,' said Luther, 'He is nowhere to be found.'—p. 272.

‘I saw a pretty dog at Lintz in Austria,’ said Luther, ‘that was taught to go with a basket, and with the basket he went to the butchers’ shambles for meat; now when other dogs came about him to take the meat out of the basket, he set it down, and bit and fought lustily with the other dogs; but when he saw they would be too strong for him, then he himself snatched out the first piece of meat, lest he should lose all. Even so now doth our Emperor Charles: he hath for a long time defended the spiritual livings; but seeing every prince take and rake the monasteries unto themselves, he now takes possession of the bishoprics, as newly, he hath snatched to himself the bishoprics of Utrecht and Luttrick, to the end also he may get *partem de tunica Christi* (a share of Christ’s raiment.)’—p. 288.

What came of a Jew’s visiting Rome.

‘Another Jew repaired to me at Wittemberg,’ said Luther, ‘and told me he was desirous to be baptized, and made a Christian; but said, he would first go to Rome to see the chief head of Christendom. This his intention, myself, Philip Melancthon, and other divines, laboured in the strongest manner to prevent; for we feared that when he should behold the offences and knaveries at Rome, he might thereby be scared from Christianity altogether. But the Jew went to Rome; and when he had stayed long enough to witness the abominations practised there, he returned to us again, desiring to be baptized, and said, “Now will I willingly worship the God of the Christians, for he is a patient God. Can he endure and suffer such wickedness and villainy as there is at Rome? Then can he suffer and endure all the vices and knaveries in the world.”—pp. 294, 295.

The Prince’s best Wealth.

‘At the imperial diet at Augsburg, certain princes were speaking in praise of the riches and advantages of their countries and principalities. The Prince Elector of Saxony said, “He had in his countries stores of silver mines, which brought him great revenues.” The Prince Elector Palatine extolled his vineyards and wine, that were produced on the banks of the Rhine, &c. &c. Now, when the turn came for Everard, Prince of Wirtemburgh, to speak also, he said, “I am indeed but a poor prince, and no way to be compared with any of you: nevertheless, I have in my country a rich and precious jewel, namely, that if I should haply ride astray in my country and lose myself, and were left alone in the fields, yet I could safely and securely sleep in the bosom of every one of my subjects, they are all ready, for my service, to venture body, goods, and blood.” And, indeed, said Luther, his people esteemed him as a *pater patriæ*. When the other princes heard the same, they confessed that he was, indeed, the richest of the three.’—p. 301.

‘If,’ said Luther, ‘a robber on the highway should fall upon me, then, truly, I would be judge and prince myself; and if no one were with me and about me that were able to defend me, I would willingly use my sword. I would thereupon take the holy sacrament, that I had done a good work. But if any one fell upon me as a preacher, for the gospel’s sake, then, with folded hands I would lift up mine eyes to heaven, and say, “My Lord Christ, here I am; I have confessed and preached Thee, &c.; is now my time expired? so commit I my spirit into Thy hands:” and in that sort would I die, said Luther.’—p. 309.

A Word of Advice to Students.

'I would advise,' said Luther, 'that whatsoever art you study, you should betake yourself to the reading of some sure and certain sorts of books, oftentimes over and over again; for to read many sorts of books produceth confusion, rather than any certain and exact knowledge. It is much the same as with those that dwell everywhere, and remain certainly in no place; such do dwell nowhere, and are nowhere at home. And like as in society, we use not the company of all friends, but of some few selected; even so likewise ought we to accustom ourselves to the best books, and to make the same familiar to us; to have them (as we use to say) at our fingers' ends.'—p. 318.

'Discourse was held how great differences were among the learned, whereupon Luther said, "God hath very finely divided his gifts, in that the learned serve the unlearned; and, again, the unlearned must humble themselves to obtain what is needful from the learned. If all people were equal, no man would serve another, neither would there be any peace. The peacock complaineth that he wants the nightingale's voice; therefore God, with the inequality, hath made the greatest equality; for we see, when one is excellent, and hath more and greater gifts than another, then is he proud and haughty, will rule and domineer over others, and condemn them."—p. 322.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE AND OBITUARY.

Contents.—Notices; Associations; Ministerial Removals; Obituaries of Mr. J. Viney, Mrs. Heineken, Mrs. Harrop, Lady Beevor, Mrs. E. Carter, Mrs. Butcher.

NOTICES.

THE Reverend JAMES MARTINEAU of Dublin will preach the Annual Sermon to young people at FINSBURY UNITARIAN CHAPEL on Sunday morning, January 1st. Subject, "Time the measure of Christian Progression." Service at eleven o'clock precisely. Mr. Martineau is also expected to preach at the same place on the evening of that and the following Sunday; and at Stamford Street Chapel on the morning of Sunday, January 8th.

Unitarian Worship, 15, Woburn Buildings, Tavistock Square.

A SUITABLE room having been provided for this purpose, Divine Worship was commenced by the Reverend B. Mardon, on the 11th of December. A respectable audience attending, he will continue to preach on THE EVENING of the Lord's Day at half-past six.

ASSOCIATIONS.

The Unitarian Association—City Mission.

At a meeting of the Committee on Monday, 19th December, it was resolved to appoint the Reverend Mr. Philp of Lincoln to the office of City Missionary. We hope to be able soon to announce his entering on the important and interesting duties of his situation.

The Scottish Unitarian Christian Association

HELD its first Anniversary at Glasgow on Sunday and Monday the 2d and 3d of October. The Reverend H. Clarke, Unitarian Missionary, preached in the morning; and the Reverend F. Blakely of Moneyrea in the afternoon and evening. At the public meeting on Monday

Mr. Barr of Crutherland presided. An abridged account, which could be little more than a skeleton catalogue of speeches and resolutions, would give a very unjust idea of this most interesting occasion; nor is it possible for us to detail them at length. We, therefore, refer our readers to No. 63 of the 'Christian Pioneer,' where they will find a full report. It is also published separately as a pamphlet, price 6d. In the report read by Reverend G. Harris the Secretary, and in the speeches of the worthy Chairman, and of the ministers and others present, they will find abundance of matter to afford gratification, and excite zeal and hopefulness.

British and Foreign Bible Society.

List of Forty-six additional Societies adverse to any alteration in the Constitution.

Aberdeen Auxiliary, Abergavenny Auxiliary, Aberystwith Auxiliary, Axminster Branch, Barnstaple Branch, Bourton-on-the-Water Auxiliary, Cardigan Auxiliary, Cavendish-square Association, Coventry Auxiliary, Dorsetshire Auxiliary, East-London Auxiliary, Ely Association, Fishguard Auxiliary, Harlow Association, Heaton-Mersey Branch, Honiton Branch, Huntingdonshire Auxiliary, Lindfield Association, Lisson-Green Association, Littleport Association, Liverpool Auxiliary, Lowestoft Branch, Maldon Branch, Mold Auxiliary, Newbury Auxiliary, Newbury Ladies' Association, New Lanark Auxiliary, New West-London Auxiliary, Ordnance (Tower) Auxiliary, Oxford Market Association, Paddington Association, Pembroke-Dock Association, Pembroke Ladies' Association, Pembroke Western Association, Sidmouth Branch, Staffordshire Auxiliary, St. Alban's Auxiliary, South-Clerkenwell Ladies' Association, Sudbury Branch, Sutton-Mepal Branch, Thatcham Ladies' Association, Thirsk Branch, Tiverton Branch, Wingham Branch, Witham Branch, York-square Association.

List of Four additional Societies favourable to Alteration.

Long-Preston Auxiliary, Fitzroy-square Association, Percy-street Association, Ripon Auxiliary Society.

The above lists are made up to the 17th of November.

Ministerial Removals and Appointments.

THE REV. J. S. PORTER, late minister of Carter-lane, London, has accepted an invitation from the First Presbyterian congregation, Belfast, to become one of the pastors of that society.

THE REV. J. HEAVISIDE, late of Manchester College, York, has been appointed successor to the Rev. Franklin Howorth, of Rochdale, who has removed to Bury.

THE REV. J. TAPLIN, of Battle, has accepted a unanimous invitation to become pastor of the Unitarian congregation at Honiton, and will enter on the duties of his office early in January.

On the 12th of November last, the Rev. Edward Higginson resigned his situation, as pastor to the Unitarian congregation, assembling at the Friar Gate Chapel, Derby, in consequence of a severe attack of apoplexy, which had for some time prevented his attendance to the duties of his office. Thus the cause has lost the public services of one who has long been the firm friend and eloquent champion of civil and religious liberty. On the 19th of November, at a meeting of the congregation, it was "unanimously resolved" that the Rev. William Roe, from the University of Glasgow, (who had for some weeks been supplying for Mr. Higginson,) should be invited to succeed him, which invitation he has accepted. And there is every reason to hope, from the steady zeal which he displays, and the great exertions which he appears willing to make in the cause of religion and of truth, that the society will flourish under his guidance.

JOHN BYNG, JUN.

OBITUARY.

MR. JAMES VINEY.

Nov. 1, at Cranbrook, Kent, Mr. JAMES VINEY, in the 67th year of his age. He was the fifth son of Mr. Thomas Viney, a stanch and consistent Unitarian Non-conformist, a friend and correspondent of those departed worthies, Drs. Fleming and Priestley. It is said

of this good man, who was extensively engaged in agricultural pursuits, that when he was situated at an inconvenient distance from a place of Unitarian worship, he was accustomed to conduct the religious services of the sabbath in his own house, when many of his neighbours united with the family in adoring

God under the endearing relation of "Our Father." A parent's piety and example were not lost upon the subject of this brief notice. Mr. James Viney adhered through a long life to the simple and efficacious faith of Unitarian Christianity, and adorned his religious profession by a consistent and virtuous practice. His departure was sudden; but the belief that

"Death cannot come to him untimely
Who is fit to die,"

affords a rich consolation to surviving relatives and friends. His earthly remains were interred in the burial ground of the General Baptist Chapel, and an appropriate discourse was delivered on the following Sunday, by Mr. Buckland, of Benenden, from Matt. xxiv. 44, "Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh."

EMMA CATHERINE HEINEKEN.

Nov. 12, aged 24 years, EMMA CATHERINE, the beloved wife of the Rev. N. S. HEINEKEN, and only surviving daughter of the Rev. M. L. YEATES, Minister of the Unitarian congregation in the same town.

Mrs. HARROP of Ashton-under-Lyne.

After a severe attack of pleurisy and inflammation of the lungs, by which the powers of life were exhausted, on the 18th of November, early in the morning, this most inestimable woman breathed her last breath. Her family not anticipating so fatal a termination of her complaint, were by no means prepared for the shock it created, and from the hope attendant on fancied convalescence they were plunged into an abyss of indescribable misery.

The deceased, whose maiden name was Turner, took her lineage from a very ancient and respectable family of that name, long seated in the township of Godley, and for many generations closely connected with the dissenting interests of the surrounding neighbourhood. This family have been somewhat remarkable for longevity, numbering in succession her grandfather 81, her grandmother 82, her father 91, and her surviving mother now in the 92nd year of her age. To these generations *the hoary head has been honourable, for they have all been found in the way of righteousness.*

Nurtured in such a stock, and transplanted into a family* equally respect-

* One of this family, the uncle of her husband, was educated for the ministry, and sustained the duties of that appoint-

able, and long eminent for irreproachable conduct and religious zeal, she became a fond parent, and in the purest sense of the word an affectionate wife. Her house was her orbit, and she moved in it as a pattern of all the domestic virtues. Exemplary in the duties of attending public worship, except indisposition prevented her, she seldom omitted appearing at the head of her family to unite in the solemn service of the Lord's day. Unassuming in manner, blameless in conversation, happy in the society of her husband and her offspring, her solicitude for their common welfare was apparent in the whole of her conduct, while her kind and hospitable disposition endeared her to a numerous circle of acquaintance. She for thirty eight years *'looked well to the ways of her household,' 'yea, she reached forth her hands to the needy.' 'Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her.'*

It has often been remarked that scholars and retired students have little of novelty or variety in their pursuits to vary the uniform tenor by which one year succeeds another—"another and the same." The truth of this observation will be quite as appropriate to that portion of the female sex whose avocations are purely domestic, and who, sequestered from the world, keep on "the noiseless tenor of their way." Such were the qualities, and such the home which Mrs. HARROP adorned and made happy. Time has always exercised a lenient influence over sorrow, and the sorrows of her afflicted family and friends can only through His aid, united with that of religious resignation, be ultimately alleviated.

LADY BEEVOR.

Nov. 23, at her home, the residence of Sir THOMAS B. BEEVOR, of Hargham Hall, Norfolk, Bart., died LADY BEEVOR, in the 30th year of her age, of a slow decline.

She "walked with God; and she was not; for God took her."

ment nearly half a century. Declining in vigour, he quitted the more active pursuits of life for the comforts of privacy at his residence, Hall Lodge, near Altringham, where in his 87th year, and enjoying a "green old age," he participates in all that can render the evening of life desirable—independence, the love of his children, and the veneration of all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. The Rev. Robert Harrop is the oldest minister in the district.

Mrs. CARTER.

Nov. 24, Mrs. CARTER, wife of EDWARD CARTER, Esq., Alderman, and sister of JOHN BONHAM CARTER, Esq., one of the representatives of the Borough of Portsmouth. This sad event has indeed occasioned no ordinary concern; so amiable and unassuming was this departed lady, so kind and courteous were her manners, so cheerful and lovely her temper, that she naturally attached all her acquaintance to her, and won the sincerest esteem and affection of all classes. Her mind was cast in no common mould.—Her whole soul was occupied in, to her, the delightful pleasure of doing good. Her charities, though very extensive, were directed with judgment and discrimination. Her devotedness to the improvement and happiness of her children, and to every member of her family, was of the most exalted kind. Her constant and disinterested endeavour to promote the general welfare of those who were within her sphere of usefulness, resembled that of her truly estimable father; and, like him too, she never permitted a selfish motive to influence her conduct. What a chasm has this afflicting dispensation of Providence occasioned in the circle of her family, and of her friends! What a gloom has it spread among all who knew her! What tears will it occasion among the very numerous objects of her bounty, the value of which was uniformly enhanced by her affability and feeling! May all who knew her, and lament her loss, strive to imitate her engaging qualities, to cherish the same attractive virtues, and to copy her spotless example! Mrs. CARTER was 45 years of age, and has left a family of seven children deeply to deplore her loss.

Mrs. BUTCHER.

Nov. 25, 1831.—Mrs. BUTCHER, relict of the Rev. Edmund Butcher, formerly of Sidmouth in Devonshire, aged seventy-six.

The grave must not be allowed to close upon the excellent person whom we have just named, without something which may tell to those who knew her not, or who knew her but by vague and distant report, that she was one who was greatly valued where she was well known;—and something, also, which may show to the men of distant times, who shall hereafter turn to these pages to seek out the names, characters, and history of those who, in its early days, were the professors of a mode of Christian faith, which will then, perhaps, be

universally received, that she was not one whose profession of it was unmarked by her contemporaries, or her character thought unworthy of a public record.

The name of her husband will be remembered in time to come as that of one whose testimony to the truth was regarded at the time as a testimony of great importance. He was in the maturity of his powers. He had lived in the circles in which the writings of Lindsay and Priestley, and of some other advocates of pure Christian truth made their first and greatest impression. Yet he did not for years adopt their views; but when, after years of faithful inquiry, he did adopt them, he hesitated not to make an open profession of the truth, and to join his voice with that of many others in calling upon men to behold the beauty of Gospel truth, when it is freed from the clouds of either Athanasian or Arian mystery. The lady of whom we speak accompanied him in his inquiries, and coincided with him in the results to which they led. She encouraged him to the performance of what was, perhaps, to a man of his delicate mind, not an easy task; the making the good confession which he did before many witnesses, that better light had broken in upon him, and that he must relinquish the errors in which he had so long persevered. This was in 1809. Some years after, his health and strength became greatly enfeebled: he was obliged to relinquish the performance of the duties of the ministry. He had a lengthened period of disease and decay. She was his constant and indefatigable attendant: and after his decease, she performed the pious duty of collecting some of his devotional compositions and of his practical discourses, in the volumes by which, being dead, he yet speaketh.

To be the wife of a pious, useful, and inquiring minister, seemed to be the station for which she was peculiarly adapted by her natural constitution, and the habits which she had formed under her father's roof. Her father was a gentleman residing upon his own hereditary lands in a highly-cultivated part of the county of Salop. But she descended from ministers, some of whom were eminent in their day and generation, the founders of the old dissenting churches in those parts of Shropshire and Cheshire. She was nearly allied in blood and affinity to others. Her more favourite associates were ministers and the friends of ministers; and she was herself, all her life, the friend, and often a very active and useful friend, of all who bore that character. She sprung from

that good old stock of English Presbyterians which, though the root now may be said to wax old in the earth, and the hoar top may be somewhat bald with dry antiquity, has produced many very excellent persons, and in particular the great body of those who have been the first to hail the brightness of the rising of the star of Christian truth which has beamed upon this land. She inherited much of the taste and feeling which belong to those who spring from the better part of this section of English descent. She had all the piety, the zeal, and the benevolence of the character; all its love of liberty and truth; all its restless desire of usefulness; all its pious reverence for the great Father of mankind. In her attention to the poor there was all that assiduity which has been said to be peculiar to woman when she puts her hand unto the work; yet she was not one of those whose charity rested in this one form or mode of it. She had all the kindly feeling of charity towards those who needed not her bounty. All who have resorted to that part of the coast on which for many years she resided, and especially those who came to seek in it salubrious air, health for themselves or for their children, had reason to admire her courteous demeanour, her kind and unaffected sympathy, and her readiness to perform for them any active services, which were only varied expressions of the Christian grace of Charity. She passed not through a long life without experiencing some of the severer trials of the world. These called for the patience and faith of the saints; and in

all these she manifested the influence on her mind of the great and holy principles of the Gospel, maintaining a perfect resignation to the will of her heavenly Father, and looking in faith and hope to that better time when old things are passed away and all things are become new.

The flowers of Charity and Piety wither not. She was in age what she had been in youth and the maturity of her powers. She was in death what she had been in life. In the same benevolence of spirit in which she had lived, she recalled to memory a few days before she died, and when she knew that death was near at hand, all whom she had known with any intimacy, every relation and every friend, and she spoke something that was kind of all. She looked to the close of life when it was known by her to be near at hand, with any feeling but that of alarm. She was grateful for the many mercies which surrounded her, but she felt that she was going to a still better world, to the house of her ever-living Father. All was peace and willing submission. It was like the end of the good Cornelius, so beautifully described by Erasmus:—"She folded her hands upon her breast in the manner of a suppliant, and then closed up her eyes as one about to sleep, and with a little sigh yielded up the ghost. You would have said she had been asleep."

She died at *Bath*, and her remains were interred in a quiet, sequestered spot, about a mile from the city, near those of her husband and of a much-loved sister.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE Editor has been induced, by the desire to free the former Proprietors of the Monthly Repository, and the Unitarian body at large, from a responsibility which does not belong to them, to avow himself more distinctly than is customary with the conductors of periodical publications. He hopes that his motives in doing so will be rightly appreciated, and be thought rather to increase than diminish his claims on the kindness of those by whom the work has been hitherto supported. The increased sale of the last two Numbers strengthens his hope of encouragement in his undertaking, in which he will seek success only by means which deserve it, the impartial exercise of his judgment on the materials confided to him, and the consistent advocacy of just and useful principles in religion, morals, education, politics, literature, and every department of human thought and interest.

The Volume now commenced will be enriched, in its early numbers, by contributions, most of which have already arrived, from Drs. Carpenter, Drummond, and Hutton; Rev. I. R. Beard, E. Higginson, W. Hincks; Miss H. Martineau; Rev. J. Martineau; Miss Roscoe; Rev. J. J. Taylor; Rev. W. Turner, jun.; and other friends of the work, some of them well known to the literary world, whose names the Editor hopes to be allowed to mention at the conclusion of the volume.

All Communications must be addressed to the Editor, at the Monthly Repository Office, 67, Paternoster Row.

A few sets of the New Series may be had, for a short time only, at the Office, for the reduced price of £3 the six volumes.

T. O. would probably be gratified by Dr. Worcester's book on "The Atoning Sacrifice."

We must refer "Thanatos" to the Unitarian Association.

The spirit of "A Friend to Truth" is excellent; but we have treated largely on the subject, and can only hope that, as a private communication, its scriptural and Christian temper had their due effect.

Received £5 from "A Friend to City Missions," and £5 from W. M., for the U. A. Committee, to aid in the establishment of a City Mission.

Communications have been received from "Clericus Cantabrigiensis," T. N., "Te Tace." The Review of Beard's Family Sermons, vol. II., in our next.

The suggestion of D. G. is, we believe, anticipated.

Several articles of intelligence are unavoidably postponed.

To the Editor of the Monthly Repository.

Sir,—Nearly five weeks have elapsed since I began the letter which you obliged me by inserting in the last Number of the Repository; but the information I have since received has served only to confirm the general correctness of my statements. I have, however, to request the insertion of the following remarks and corrections, which I will put down in the order in which they occur.

P. 840. In speaking of the "Corporation," I referred, as I suppose the reader would, only to the body of Aldermen; and I need scarcely add, that it was to them solely in their public character. Some of my friends think my expression—"living in little intercourse with men of general intelligence"—too strongly stated; and it is not correct as respects some individuals: at any rate, as it intrenches upon their personal relations, I beg the reader to erase it, as not very suitable to the object in view.

P. 842, for *Farlay* read *Farley*.

P. 843, at the bottom, for *Welch Dock* read *Welch Back*.

— in the second line of the page, Bath is spoken of as having Mr. Peel's police: this is not correct; but Bath has a good police.

P. 844, near the bottom, read *though I believe with sabres drawn*. I thought so once from what I said; but was led to alter my opinion: the first opinion was, I believe, the correct one.

P. 845, near the bottom, erase "of the 3d dragoon guards." Colonel Brereton had, as resident chief of the staff, the command of all the military.

P. 846, lines 3 and 4: the soldiers of the 14th fired, on St. Augustine's Back, in the way to College Green, on the Sunday morning; but, as it appears, with great forbearance.

P. 848. The defence of the Bishop's Palace mentioned near the top of the page, must have been later: perhaps after eight. But few of those engaged seem to agree as to the exact time. With the closest regard to accuracy, it will probably be found that the accounts of good witnesses vary greatly in reference to the hour when the events of that horrid night occurred. The Palace was set on fire before that defence, but the flames were extinguished;—and for the word *actually* in line 12, read *finally*.

P. 849, note, a *Baptist*, a *Quaker*, read *two Baptists*. Before midnight, others also had contributed to check the evil; and, as they believe, to prevent the firing of the Cathedral.

P. 850. Soon after half-past six, on the Monday morning, I saw the dragoons charge in Princes Street, as I have stated. I had just heard that the Square was quiet: but *previously* to that quiet, I find, that charge had occurred in the Square which Major Mackworth directed: and that charge, which was made some time before and after six, many regard as of great importance for the prevention of evil. The exact truth will ere long be known. My opinion, however, as far as it respects the attack on the Square, has no adequate foundation.

P. 851, line 5, for *leave*, read *keep in*.

Some errors in style I leave unnoticed. The foregoing are all that can mislead, as far as I have the means of knowledge. Your readers will, by an acquaintance with my statements, better understand the reports which, I presume, will be fully given in the London papers of the proceedings of the Special Commission, which commence on the 2d of January.—L. CARPENTER.